SOCIAL PROBLEMS

CONTENTS

A Symposium on Desegregation and Social Change:

BOOK REVIEWS

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POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND THE
TELEVISION PERSPECTIVE

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The effect on political participation of large-scale political telecasts has been the subject of much speculation. Behind most prognostications lies the fundamental assumption that the advent of televised politics means a short-circuiting of party machines. (3) After the epochal telecasts of the 1952 political conventions, we were told that each televiewer had become a participant in a town meeting of America. Moreover, since each viewer in the privacy of his living room could pass an independent judgment on whatever issue was at stake, such viewers would increasingly, it was predicted, participate in and influence public decisions. The viewer's scrutiny, it was held, would also affect political institutions, and viewer distaste for what was witnessed was expected to lead to "fundamental changes in convention procedures." (2) Likewise, the case for a national Presidential primary was reported to have been revitalized following public reaction to the video presentation.

> The people of America saw the inefficient, archiac, and disgraceful method of selecting Presidents at the conventions which were held in Chicago . . . There is no doubt but what the people of the United States did not like what they saw. They don't believe it is good democracy to leave the selection of Presidential candidates in the hands of a few haggling, back-room barons of professional politicians. (1)

Such claims raise questions as to: (a) the relationship between political participation via video and such participation via organized channels; and (b) the limits and potentialities of televiewing as a source of political intelligence.

PURPOSE

Definitive observations concerning the impact of TV on political participation must, obviously, await history. Meanwhile, attempts to study and anticipate that impact must go beyond the special circumstances surrounding particular campaigns and particular issues and beyond how, at different times and places, the medium has been exploited by politicians, public relations experts, and mass communicators. From the different ways in which people use their television experience, we must abstract what is characteristic of and efficacious in the television experience as such.

It is to the latter problem that this paper addresses itself. Our thesis is that, notwithstanding any peculiarities in the presentation of any network or the orientations characterizing particular groups of viewers, there is a phenomenon inherent in the nature of television as a mass medium whose implications for political participation demand consideration.

The generalizations concerning the television perspective and the way in which a group of viewers tended to cope with it are the end product of a modest though carefully analyzed study. The design and procedures followed are detailed elsewhere. (5, 7) We have included in the text of this paper only such references to methodology as seem required by the reader. Specific findings referred to in these pages are based on two sources in particular: the monitoring records of

the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions in 1952, including separate monitoring on all three channels of auditory and visual content; and an analysis of views offered by 47 interviewees following the Democratic convention concerning how a political convention selects its candidates.

The sample of 47, from whose experiences we generalize, is admittedly small. But, our interest was in developing notions about the *processes* by which televiewers arrive at definitions and, for this purpose, a limited number of intensive interviews was deemed preferable to less intensive information from a somewhat larger sample designed to guarantee representativeness in an absolute sense. Besides, we had already interviewed most of these viewers twice before, once in the pre-conventions period, to ascertain their expectations and preconceptions of politics, and once after the Republican convention. Also, we were able to get beyond the usual circle of college students on whom communications theorems must often be tested and to reach a widely diversified group of viewers in a "real-life" situation. The sample was drawn on a quota basis from five census tracts in South Chicago, an area then being canvassed by the Cooperative Community Research Project. It included college graduates and persons with advanced degrees (not academicians) as well as some with less than eight years of schooling, executives and professional people together with manual laborers and recent immigrants.

The basic generalization presented here concerning the TV perspective, based on findings from the convention study, moreover, reaffirms the "unique perspective of TV" as hypothesized in a study of MacArthur Day in Chicago. (6) It could be shown, on the basis of that research, that "a general characteristic of the television presentation was that the field of vision of the viewer was enlarged while, at the same time, the context in which these events could be interpreted was less clear." The implications in terms of political participation are further elaborated on the basis of these more recent data.

THE OMNISCIENT VIEWER: THE TV PERSPECTIVE

Analysis of TV commentator references and of special and exclusive camera shots suggests that the telecaster aimed to endow the viewer with a kind of "omniscience." The television coverage amounted to an electronic transport to everywhere, keeping up with everyone and everything in and at the convention; but telecasters took for granted (without being aware of the fact) a near limitless ability on the part of the viewer to orient himself in a multiplicity of roles. To understand what he was presumed to understand, to make sense of and interpret the proceedings, the viewer was in effect called upon to be the speaker at the platform visualizing the choices before Sam Rayburn; to be the delegate arguing his case before the Credentials committee; to participate as a delegate in a caucus; to be an insider up on the latest plans of a candidate; to be a gallery spectator; a delegate voting on the seating issue. But, above all, the viewer was explicitly reminded that he was participating in the conventions as a favored spectator, seeing all, glimpsing even what was hidden from many delegates.

It is but a logical deduction that the biggest difference between the tele-participant and the direct participant lay in the possibility of putting impressions to immediate empirical test. In none of his *vicariously* experienced roles could the viewer do so. Thus, as a "delegate" he could not talk to other delegates, sharing or disputing their claims; nor could he be

"approached" by the man who allegedly wanted to buy his vote. As a spectator in the gallery he could not be aroused by the shouting of other spectators. Nor could he be bored with them, or smoke, talk, sit, and ask questions of them.

He was *more* than a delegate inasmuch as all candidates (or their managers) wooed him and talked to him via video, and commentators claimed that all "inside dope" came his way. Still he was *less* than a delegate since he could neither question nor answer their claims and implorations. He was *more* than a spectator since he could peer into backrooms, and *less* than a spectator because he lacked the contact with other spectators.

This participation in, or "living the convention at a distance," as we may term such a perspective, did indeed give most viewers the illusion of being omniscient—omniscient because of the viewer's seemingly unrestricted vantage points for viewing; an illusion because his was knowledge, the reliability of which could not be tested in action. The theme of "omniscience" occurs in just about every interview and constitutes a recurrent theme in over two-thirds of the interviews. We do not mean to imply that viewers believe they actually see and know everything that is going on. But they come to subscribe to the notion, constantly conveyed to them by TV and press commentary, that they "see for themselves," that they are directly involved, that television takes them to the "scene of the crime," that they have a better vantage point than people right at the convention hall. Whether they complain that commentators talk too much, talk too little, help to clarify the proceedings or just get in the way, viewers believe that TV is not mediated, that they "see for themselves," so much so, indeed, that they can even know when information is being hidden from them!

THE TASK FOR THE VIEWER: REDUCTION OF THE SITUATION

There is no evidence that viewers consciously preserved this illusion of omniscience. However, the televiewer's belief that he had "seen for himself" did serve to validate his own prejudices and helped him to gain self-confidence in his own political expertise. Probably most viewers enjoy this "illusion of omniscience." At any rate, almost all our viewers managed to preserve it by avoiding what might have been an overwhelming surfeit of impressions offered by TV. Whether they managed this by not perceiving what they didn't want to see or by believing that much of what they didn't understand was deliberately hidden from them, the process by which respondents made sense out of the manifold convention action was one of "reduction."

Out of whatever motives (i.e., in order to "learn," to enjoy himself, to pass moral judgment, etc.) the viewer did, in essence, limit for himself his participation in the convention. He declined to follow wherever camera and commentary wished to transport him. He declined to be—by turn—a delegate, gallery spectator, candidate, etc. By limiting the number of personalities and the breadth of action he permitted to reach the threshold of his attention, he limited the action, and (as we shall see later) by frequently fitting the remainder to correspond to certain stereotypes, he maintained the illusion of omniscience which was the vantage point for his tele-participation. This reduction took several forms and its pervasiveness may be illustrated by reference to some findings from the post-Democratic interview.

1. Reduction of meaningful events: Most of our panel tended to dismiss events prior to the actual balloting (which took place on Friday, the last full day of the convention) as mere

epiphenomena. Events occurring at earlier sessions such as the passage of the loyalty oath, the credentials hearings, seating of the South, etc. were, with few exceptions, simply *not* related to the outcome of the convention. A content analysis of all "evidence" put forth by viewers to support their own impressions of how the candidate was selected showed that three-fourths of all evidence traceable to a specific episode relayed on TV referred to the three ballots on Friday. Moreover, it could be demonstrated with some confidence that this did not merely reflect a tendency to remember best what was witnessed last. Thus, events on which viewers fastened most during the Republican convention transpired before the final day.

2. Simplification of the race: The efforts of the many candidates were reduced to a two-man race betwen Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver by one half of the viewers. Moreover, even those who looked upon Averill Harriman as the third contender cited him only in connection with the resolution of this two-man contest.

3. Inattentiveness to the activities of "managers": In spite of their repeated references to a "bossed" and "controlled" convention, respondents on the whole could not elaborate these understandings. The operation of reduction manifests itself in a relative incapacity to recall—or even note—who supported what candidate. Nor could viewers depict with much specificity the tactics and strategy employed by supporters of any potential nominee. For example, Truman and/or the "machine"—which in essence meant Truman—were consistently looked upon as the driving force behind the Stevenson nomination. Two-thirds of the panel mentioned the President in this connection. Yet only somewhat over a fourth of this sample of Chicago voters cited their own Jacob Arvey as a chief Stevenson backer. Also neglected by the viewers

were the activities of James Farley, Pittsburgh's Mayor Lawrence, ex-Senator Francis Myers, Governors Schricker and Carvel, and the early Stevenson-for-President enthusiasts—and this, even though their associations with the Stevenson candidacy were well marked by the telecasts.

Among the Kefauver supporters, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois was virtually the only one (save James Roosevelt, who was named by 15 per cent of the panel) identified in this political role. Kefauver's manager, Gael Sullivan, went unmentioned. And even the coon-skin hats which his supporters loyally wore in the July heat failed to impress their identities on viewers. One interviewee, annoyed by the probing, expressed what must have been the thoughts of many when she volunteered:

> There was no way to differentiate between those for Kefauver and the others — they weren't all dressed in blue jeans and come trouping in.

4. Inattentiveness to "pressures" on delegates: Except for vague but persistent references to "pressures," there was little interest in specifying the relations among the various factors contributing to any delegate's vote decision. Asked about any influence exercised by the general public or the audience in the hall, panel members indicated that they had scarcely considered the matter. At the most, some viewers did pick up the idea that delegates, in some vague sense, were "TV-conscious." Likewise, the panel member's interest in the extended polling or his bewilderment at the unit vote were not matched by any clear-cut interest in the role of the delegate at the convention—how the delegate had been selected, how he was being wooed by different headquarters, and his day-by-day experiences. Questioned directly about whether delegates make up their own minds (i.e. whether and to what extent they vote indepen-

dently), viewers, in line with the tendency to reduce the action, resorted to their observations of delegates during the nomination ballots.

PRECONCEPTIONS OF POLITICS IN THE REDUCTION OF THE SITUATION

To reiterate, the role defined for the member of the mass audience by the television perspective was a composite one. While he could view the convention from any of a number of vantage points in swift succession, he was at all times something more than any ordinary participant: he was a favored and omniscient spectator. The viewer managed to preserve his illusion of omniscient participation by avoiding confusion; he made sense of his role in the convention by limiting his participation. He limited what he saw and heard. However, the specific TV content which survived this reduction process was (as will be illustrated below) to a large extent a function of the viewer's prior conception of politics. These preconceptions (described below), it seems, often served simultaneously as a source of "impressions" and as "proof" of their own validity. They also tended to constrict or broaden the range of materials a viewer was able to apprehend. And, according to the notions of politics held, viewers fastened on particular interpretations. Even where attention was cursory, it was the notions which gave political significance to anything observed.

The typology of "notions of politics" was derived in the following way. At the outset of the study it was hypothesized that certain preconceptions of politics might be conducive to indifference, political blindness, and even a certain ethical blindness to the information potential of the telecasts. In accordance with this, during the preconventions interview each person was asked to choose from among five statements defining the purposes of the conventions he would be witnessing, the one which most nearly replicated his own definition. On the basis of these answers three distinct notions were delineated. When additions were made to the panel in follow-up interviews, it became clear that there was a fourth notion which our pre-convention interviewing had not caught. A crude test of the validity, inclusiveness, and discriminatory usefulness of the typology was made. This involved the use of several episodes in the Democratic proceedings, the interpretations of which diverged widely and were expected to be related to these preconceptions of politics. All those previously classified as having a particular notion of politics were found to have given comparable interpretations of the significance of these events.

The instrument utilized and the typology derived from it are admittedly in need of far more testing, but the types did prove significant for understanding how viewers endowed the TV content with meaning. The notions may be described as follows: (a) According to the *sinister* notion, everything is settled by mysterious forces prior to the convention while the viewer himself is a helpless onlooker, powerless to influence the inevitable. (b) The *backroom* notion holds that decisions are made by politicians through more-or-less dirty deals, but that the viewer, in spite of the trickery or deceit, is able to surmise (however vaguely) how the decision is made. (c) The *heroic* notion defines the contest as a match between the human qualities of candidates whose character can be assessed and judged by the viewer. (d) The *representative* notion assumes that the selection of a candidate proceeds along essentially parliamentary and democratic lines which, for the most part, the viewer may observe and evaluate.

These types exist in their absolute

purity only in the abstract. For example, some viewers seemed to want to believe in the representative notion and did basically believe in it, but nevertheless were always alert to the possibility of backroom deals and behind-the-scenes activity. Their notions were, nevertheless, classed as "representative" in accordance with their basic outlook. In addition, there was a group, essentially "backroom," as revealed by what they expected and what they saw, who were prone to generalize about the conventions in the vernacular of the "sinister" viewers. Whether this last group has a distinct notion of politics or whether their conception may safely be absorbed into the "backroom" type is open to question and, therefore, the breakdowns for this "*backroom*-sinister" notion are given separately.

The influence of such preconceptions may be illustrated by reference to judgments on the genuineness of the Stevenson "draft." This refers to the convention action in nominating Stevenson even though he was not officially seeking the nomination or had not authorized any person or persons to seek it for him. (4) Such judgments are particularly crucial, first, because understanding of the draft was the key to how viewers defined the entire convention process and, second, because most editorializing following the convention made the draft the central theme or sense of the proceedings. The classification of each viewer's judgment of the draft as genuine or spurious entailed a separate rating of their comments on two points: whether the delegates acted autonomously, and whether Stevenson himself had acted in good faith.

Table 1 shows the distribution of judgments on the draft by notions of politics. It indicates that a representative notion of politics, even when qualified by an awareness of backroom deals and behind-the-scenes activity, apparently led to a post-convention judgment of the draft as genuine on both counts. Most interesting about the heroic notion, colored as it is with a concern for actors and not with issues, is the fact that the only televiewers, three in number, who arrived

TABLE 1.

VIEWER'S JUDGMENTS OF THE STEVENSON DRAFT BY NOTION OF POLITICS

Judgment of Draft*	Representative	Heroic	Backroom	Backroom Sinister	Sinister
Delegates Autonomous +	12	2	—	—	—
Stevenson Motives Open +					
Delegates Autonomous ?	—	1	4	2	1
Stevenson Motives Open +					
Delegates Autonomous —	—	—	2	4	—
Stevenson Motives Open ?					
Delegates Autonomous —	—	2	2	2	9
Stevenson Motives Open —					
No Clear Views	—	3	—	—	—
Totals**	12	8	8	8	10

*Plus indicates delegate autonomy and open motives respectively; the minus lack of autonomy and disbelief in Stevenson's good faith; a ? that the viewer himself was not certain in his judgment.

**One respondent is omitted from the table because he, in spite of his enthusiasm for the telecast, understood so little that he could be classified only as having no view at all.

at no clear judgment about this vital issue, were in this group. Viewers with a backroom notion of politics were just as apt to suspect the genuineness of the draft as they were to accept it in good faith. But those televiewers who held to a sinister notion (to any degree) were highly suspicious or absolutely certain that neither Stevenson nor the convention had acted in good faith.

Whatever the judgment of the draft, and irrespective of the notion of politics, interviewees employed similar episodes in the convention as support for their views, particularly the switching of votes during the balloting for the nomination. Said one viewer in support of delegate autonomy:

/The Democratic/ convention was probably less tightly controlled than the Republican . . . When Harriman switched votes, several delegates from New York voted for others than Stevenson. There were other delegations where people held out for one candidate against the majority. The polls especially showed that.

Yet another viewer had a different "view" of the voting:

We both learned that the candidate is not selected by the people. /How did you learn that?/ You could tell this by by the way and the times that the delegates switched their votes. It was obvious that the candidate had already been selected. The convention was just a show of string pulling to get him in.

That viewers should have employed similar episodes to support varying interpretations should not obscure this fact: the extent to which any strategy was defined as "open" or "visible" paralleled the extent to which viewers' ideas about these developments were actually derived from specific episodes in the telecast. Hidden or sinister moves attributed to principal Stevenson backers were documented by reference to specific incidents much less frequently than certain strategical and tactical moves attributed to these same

forces. Thus, the viewer who spoke of "hidden" moves did not usually derive his knowledge from observations of the telecast. Though perhaps fostered by an incompetence to follow the convention activities, the stereotypes employed and the imputation of a sinister intent to certain actors came, at any rate, much more often than not from "knowledge" secured prior to the telecast, or from "inside information" reportedly relayed to viewers during or immediately after the convention week.* While references to the voting were used *pro* and *con* the genuineness of a draft, viewers defining the draft as genuine were more apt to cite TV-*specific* evidence for their interpretations. Put another way, those who were certain the draft was spurious most often spoke, somewhat vaguely, of "what a particular commentator (or commentators) said."

We can state that the ability to see a connection between particular moves on the floor and the resulting Stevenson draft, an ability which underlay any intelligent judgment about the process by which a candidate was selected, basically involved the viewer's capacity for perceiving and adequately interpreting elements of the video coverage to which he was exposed. Among the four preconceptions of politics characteristic of viewers, the convention telecasts resulted in more highly competent judgments about how candidates in general, and these candidates in particular, were chosen only among those who expected the process to be observable (at least in principle); that is, those who held a representative notion of politics. Other conceptions interfered with the utilization of television experience for learning about the political process. Thus, a general disposition to regard politics as sinister and/or a disinterest

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* For details of the content analysis employed, see (5).

in politics drastically limited the range of meanings derived from the telecast. The restrictive stereotypes held by such viewers lessened their accesibility to new information. Nor was the taste for politics of a "sinister" viewer, though loaded with affect, necessarily incompatible with a retreat from political affairs. Similarly, a heroic conception fostered familiarity only with certain actors representing the human interest phase of the conventions. It may be noted, by way of comparison, that viewers with a representative notion of politics, if alert to backroom activity, were also apt to notice and remember many more of the political personages.

What has been said and written about a widespread demand, as a result of the convention coverage, for drastic changes in the method of candidate selection has been illustrated. The materials presented here concerning the relationships between prior notions of politics and resulting definitions of the proceedings suggest that, though such arousal may have been a product of what people saw, the attitudes themselves, far from being new, were pre-existing attitudes. Within our sample, such demands stemmed largely from viewers with a sinister notion of politics, who from the beginning expected that the results were really in before the race began, plus those backroom viewers who adopted the language of the "sinisters" (i.e., backroom-sinisters). Disappointment at the specific choices of the conventions contributed to criticism of the convention form. In this connection, too, the wide coverage given by TV to that activity supplied the "evidence" on which demands for changes might be based.

THE QUEST FOR PUBLICITY

Then, did TV do nothing more than act as a reservoir of evidence in support of varying preconceptions? First, it may be said that TV treatment of certain episodes and personalities did stress—intentionally or unintentionally — particular interpretations which may have been accepted by viewers holding different points of view. (7, 8) But beyond this, and paradoxically, the quest for unrestricted video coverage of the convention tended to appeal to a particular tendency among viewers; i.e., a prior or developing tendency (aggravated by viewer disinterest in certain phases of the proceedings) toward sensing hidden pressures. This was so since the format of the presentation with its rapid shifts of focus resulted, in most cases, in the viewer's inattentiveness to some crucial convention actions. Such apparent gaps in the sense of the convention, puzzling as they were, were often explained by the viewer as indicating that certain information had been denied him; and to the extent that stereotypy and low political competence characterized the viewer, his inability to follow the proceedings led him to define many televised actions as obscure and therefore, in fact, hidden from him—at least in part.

For instance, when a network attempted to "let the viewer in on what was going on," it sometimes succeeded in letting the viewer believe he was being kept out. An interviewee discussing how the convention was "rigged," expounded:

> I saw that caucus. They let us in on one state. I don't know what one now— South Carolina or Texas—or one of those, I think. They wouldn't let the press in. It was down in the Hilton, led by the big bosses. — You couldn't tell how the decisions were made. You couldn't hear anything. You could just see men standing around talking and saw just the backs of them.

Another subject proved, by the following, that the delegates were told how to vote:

Well, Michigan stood right up and said they had a caucus. That means that somebody was telling them what to do.

PARTICIPATION AND INFORMEDNESS

Participation in political affairs via TV, this "living politics at a distance," is an experience clearly distinct from political participation in an organized setting. The opportunity to observe does not suffice to transform members of the mass audience into members of an active public. While it may arouse interest in viewing similar telecasts, it does not necessarily stimulate—and may even discourage—active political participation. Politics may become a diversion rather than a citizen or partisan activity.

Such a political consequence of televised politics would reside in the discrepancy between the nature of the actual participation by a member of the mass audience and his conviction that he has been, in fact, transported to the convention (or to any other public event). Through his televiewing, he cannot help but form ideas about politics. But the "omniscience" offered him as a TV participant encourages a form of reduction which limits the information potential of the telecast. Yet, the viewer maintains the illusion of being a suprapublic participant and, whatever his interpretation, it is confirmed by that illusion. How preconceptions and "reduction" enter observations and interpretation of what is shown has been illustrated on the basis of the Democratic convention.

The impact of the distinction between the participation of the mass audience and active political participation goes beyond the niceties or even the utility of conceptual clarity. For, like the televising of other major public events, the televising of the conventions made a big story. Its appeal and omnipresence were sufficient to attract and captivate a huge audience. Momentarily, at any rate, the conventions were the focus of attention. Yet, since viewers lacked a common nexus of experience, each approached what was really specialized information, about the hearings, caucuses, rules, strategy, etc., through his own preconceptions, getting out of it—in large measure—what he was prepared to put into it. This short-circuiting of the social network in which political actions occur and its consequences are inherent in the structure of television as a mass medium. As such, it is independent of the communication role played by opinion leaders and not intrinsically affected by whether what has been called the situation of contact is solitary or in the company of other viewers.

It may be that the "universal" exposure of the TV audience can become a common experience only to the extent that the factual and symbolic context necessary for participation is at least endemic in the population. (9) Viewers of the 1952 conventions often lacked this background and, consequently, even some of the most elementary and manifest meanings of the proceedings escaped them. Moreover, by playing into the viewers' stereotypy and, at times, obscuring the action context by its many shifts, the format to some extent promoted an image of the proceedings as highly manipulated.

These observations suggest an important practical—and moral—problem. If political video is to contribute toward a more instructed public ready for discriminating action, the clarification of the factual and symbolic context of the event would seem to rate a greater effort than the attempt at unrestricted publicity. For such publicity, though unintentionally, may foster an illusion of direct and spontaneous participation among the audience. It is further suggested that there may be a positive relationship between the viewer's conviction about his experience and an inability or un-

willingness to absorb knowledge about what goes on, a relationship deducible from an ignorance or unawareness of the context. Thus, the private communion of the viewer with the telecast, standing in contrast to opportunities for verification in an organized setting and lacking restraints exercised by face-to-face contact, while it may fail to educate, may yet succeed in mobilizing affect and indignation. Herein lies a danger.

We may ask among which groups the discrepancy between the viewer's definition of his participation and its actual nature obscures the issues and, while mobilizing affect and indigtion, encourages a particular form of privatization not incompatible with mass arousal. Answering this would entail a clarification of the real nature of the "aroused interest" attributed to televised politics. Does such "participation" outside of any context help to account for any possible changes in voting habits—among women? among "mass suburbanites?" Who is this newly-defined independent voter who, sitting at home viewing, "making up his own mind," is said to be resistant to the appeal of the precinct captain and friend alike, and yet feels compelled to act out of his newly-felt knowledgability? What, we would inquire, is the relationship between political competence and the arousal of such voters? This would include an assessment, among other things, of whether an emphasis on political personalities at the expense of political issues is characteristic of such voter-viewers and, indeed, inherent in political video as such.

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FAMILY VERSUS CAMPUS INFLUENCES IN RELATION TO MATE SELECTION*

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There seems to be no question that, within broad limits, the principle of homogamous mating has been well established. (6) Early studies concentrated upon assortative mating for physical and mental characteristics and more recently the emphasis has been upon homogamy in social and personality characteristics. Homogamy, as opposed to heterogamy, has been established in almost every case. Exceptions to the general rule have been seriously suggested only in the areas of sex-linked personality types and in what are often termed personality needs. (9)

Homogamy studies, however, have seldom gone beyond the gross descriptive level. Implicit in many of them is the assumption that once a statistically significant homogamous tendency is demonstrated the "problem" is solved. Or, at least, the necessity for more adequate theoretical analysis of the homogamy concept and for more precise empirical generalization concerning its operation has been neglected.

Explanations in the literature for the operation of homogamy generally suggest that it results either from a selection-rejection process in dating and courtship, or from differential association, or both. (6) Differential association presumably operates through propinquity—residential, occupational, religious, and so on. Like marries like because like lives near like, works near like, worships with like, and even plays with like. Thus opportuni-

ties to contract heterogamous unions are limited and opportunities to enter homogamous marriages are multiplied. That propinquity is a factor in determining who marries whom is, of course, rather well established. (2)

Seldom if ever, however, is it assumed that propinquity completely explains the magnitude of trait correlations. It is also implied that most persons directly or indirectly reject eligible persons who differ from themselves, in favor of other eligible persons who have more similar traits and backgrounds. The specific ways in which rejection occurs, however, have never been made clear. It is usually implied that norms internalized early in life discourage dating contacts between unlikes or that direct group pressures in the persons of disapproving parents and associates discourage potentially heterogamous marriages, or that both factors may operate. To our knowledge, no empirical studies have sought to weigh the relative importance of these two sets of influences.

Studies of social class homogamy were especially handicapped until approximately a decade ago by the lack of any standardized conceptions of class and by the lack of valid and reliable indicators of class position. Most studies used only single indices of class such as "occupation" or "income," or used unstandardized verbal estimates of class position. (1) One important exception appears to be Hollingshead's study of New Haven (5) which used an index of class position based upon Davie's prior ecological analysis of that community. (3)

Hollingshead demonstrated that in New Haven, at least, some marital selection by social class does occur.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study seeks tentative answers to some of the questions about homogamy raised above, while maintaining the level of methodological sophistication achieved by Hollingshead. The study first of all seeks to determine whether the gross tendency toward class homogamy found in New Haven is maintained in a group of restricted age range and social status—namely, in the marriages of a group of university students residing on a university campus. It was assumed that such a university population would be drawn primarily from what are widely referred to as the "middle classes" and would be concentrated age-wise in the late teens and early twenties. Until such is demonstrated there is no assurance that because "lowers," "middles," and "uppers" tend to sort themselves marriage-wise in the larger community that a comparable sorting occurs when the status range is artificially narrowed as it presumably is upon college and university campuses.

Second, some estimate is sought of the importance of direct group pressures in either encouraging or discouraging homogamous as opposed to heterogamous social class mating. Specifically, it was reasoned that by and large parents tend, by approval or disapproval of prospective marriage partners, to pressure their children in the direction of homogamous marriages. If this be true, then marriages contracted under circumstances where the parents are in a good position to use their influence might show more homogamous tendency than marriages contracted under circumstances where the ability of the parents to enforce their disapproval is limited. Hence the college marriages studied here

were divided into two groups; one group in which the couples had known one another in the environment of their parental communities before attending college and one group where the couples had met and married while at college and presumably somewhat away from parental influences. We should expect more class homogamy in the former than in the latter group.

Above and beyond the simple fact that college students attending college away from home are apt to be less directly under the influence of their parents, there is some reason to believe that the democratizing influences of the college campus might actually include some pressure in the direction of heterogamous marriages. The campus generally has a set of formal democratic norms providing for equal treatment of all students and encouraging the students themselves to minimize group differences. It is expected that students will participate with and "get to know" students of different social backgrounds and, within limits, these same expectations operate in cross-sex friendships. Presumably, couples from dissimilar backgrounds who become emotionally involved while on campus are under some compulsion to show that they "are not prejudiced" as well as to be "objective" about their relationship and, hence, may be more likely to marry than would be true under different circumstances and pressures.

It must be recognized, of course, that this situation does not provide us with a rigorous experimental design for the "if" qualifications inserted above have not been empirically demonstrated. In some cases, parents probably continue to exercise great influence over their children's mate choices even though the choices are made while the children are away at college, and in other cases the parents have no great influence even when

their children marry in the environment of the parental home. Further, there are also anti-democratic forces operating on many university campuses which strongly discourage heterogamous class pairings. (The influences of fraternities and sororities in this respect have been well documented. (7) In general, however, these counter influences seem not to be as important as those which underlie the original assumptions, and it was in the light of the original assumptions that the present study was conducted.)

THE INSTRUMENT USED

A special adaptation of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics served as the measure of class placement. Data from *Social Class in America* permitted the four "scale-variables" composing the I.S.C. (occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area) to be incorporated into a seven page schedule such that a person's I.S.C. could be computed from four appropriately placed check marks. The occupation (8, 140-141) and source of income (8, 139-142) scales were used virtually as Warner presented them. These two scales cover adequately the range of variation to be expected in urban communities of all sizes and in rural areas. Warner's revised house type scale (8, 149-150) and his dwelling area scale (8, 153-154) were used for urban respondents, while Warner's original house type scale (8, 143-149) was used for rural respondents. A special dwelling area scale for rural respondents was constructed by the writers to conform to the pattern set by the Warner scales.

Obviously there are difficulties involved in this procedure. Many writers have questioned whether the Warner schema has any special validity other than for the communities in which it was developed. (4) Moreover, Warner's data, although excellent, are not completely exhaustive on any of the four scale-variables and we have put them to a use for which they were not explicitly intended. In answer to the first objection, while it is granted that the ultimate validity of the Warner formulation has not been established, the I.S.C. remains one of the most adequate empirical measures of U. S. class status yet developed. The liberties taken with the structure of the I.S.C., however, and its use with a non-community-limited population required that its validity and reliability be re-established in the new setting.

Two reliability checks were made. First a group of husbands and their wives separately supplied I.S.C.'s both for their own parental families and for their spouse's families. Thus it was possible to correlate two sets of I.S.C. scores for the same families. Second, two test-retest checks were made, one after an interval of two weeks and one after an interval of four weeks. All of the resulting correlation coefficients attained .90.

Three partial validity checks were also made. One criterion was the capacity of the instrument to separate the respondents into social classes in a logical and meaningful fashion. If substantial proportions of a state university population fell into either the extreme upper or lower ranges that should be cause for suspicion. One might expect such a group to be predominantly middle class. The resulting class distribution of 208 subjects was:

Upper	17
Upper-middle	107
Lower-middle	70
Lower	14
Total	208

A second check correlated just the occupational rating provided by thirty

randomly selected subjects with a similar rating independently supplied by one of the investigators from detailed face-sheet data. The Pearsonian r was .97 and the Spearman rank-order coefficient, .92. The third validity check related class position of the respondents to residence in single or multi-family dwellings. It was reasoned that upper and upper-middle class persons would live predominantly in single houses with occasional urban residents residing in apartments. Few of them should live in flat or row houses, doubles, or duplexes. More of the middle and lower class families should live in such multiple family dwellings. To conserve space the actual data are not presented here but results were quite consistent with expectations. The pattern was clear and identical. Each of these findings was obscured somewhat for rural respondents by the relatively few multiple family dwellings in those areas.

SAMPLE AND FINDINGS

I.S.C.'s were secured for the parental families of 208 Purdue University students. One hundred and twenty single students supplied I.S.C.'s for their parental families only, while 48 men and 40 women provided I.S.C.'s for both their own parental families and for their spouses' parental families. The reliability coefficients cited

above indicate the adequacy of this procedure. The analysis, then, was based upon I.S.C.'s for the parental families of both partners of 88 marriages and a comparison group of 120 single students.

I.S.C. scores and the corresponding class placements of married and single students are shown in Table 1. Several generalizations follow: (a) the entire sample is predominantly middle class; (b) single girls are of higher class status than single boys, a larger proportion of girls falling in the *upper*-middle class; (c) the class patterns are quite similar for married and single boys; (d) a higher proportion of single rather than married girls fall in the upper-middle class; and (e) the class patterns for married girls and married boys are practically identical. Each of these findings was borne out by a special analysis of variance.

The major question concerned the operation or non-operation of homogamy within the 88 marriages. Two analyses were made. The first was a general test for homogamous tendency among the entire 88 couples. The second test divided the couples into two groups, 47 couples who had been acquainted in the environment of their parental homes before attending college, and 31 couples who had met and married while on campus. Ten couples who could not be clearly

TABLE 1.

I. S. C. AND CLASS DISTRIBUTION BY MARITAL STATUS

AND SEX OF RESPONDENTS

N = 296

I. S. C.		Married		Single	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
12-23	Upper	7	6	6	5
24-35	Upper-middle	39	42	24	41
36-53	Lower-middle	32	33	25	12
54-74	Lower	10	7	6	1
		—	—	—	—
Totals		88	88	61	59
Mean I.S.C.'s		37.95	37.10	37.05	32.95

placed in either of these two groups were omitted from the second analysis.

Chi-square tests for two-way classifications were made in each case. In the total group of 88 marriages, the female's class status proved to be dependent upon her spouse's class status only at the .10 level (upper and upper-middle combined, lower and lower-middle combined). The chi-square was 3.64. Similarly tested, the group which met and married while on campus showed no homogamous tendency whatsoever ($x^2 = .26$). The group that met at home prior to attending college again showed dependence at the .10 level ($x^2 = 2.71$.) No other significant differences were found between the met-at-home and met-on-campus groups. They were quite similar in age, ethnic status, and rural-urban background.

INTERPRETATION

The relatively clear marital selection by social class found by Hollingshead in New Haven did not appear in this group of marriages drawn from a more restricted class range. At best, a slight tendency toward class homogamy was found for the total group and for those couples who met at home before attending college. Significantly, no homogamous tendency whatsoever was found among the couples who met and married while on campus. Since there appear to be no other major differences between the met-at-home and met-at-college groups, this suggests, though it doesn't prove conclusively, that the direct environmental pressures operating on the two groups account for the difference in their marital pattern. The campus situation, by encouraging the association of persons of diverse backgrounds and through its formal democratic norms, appears to favor heterogamous pairings, while pairings initi-

ated off the campus and in the vicinity of the parental home show some tendency toward homogamy. In this instance, at least, direct group pressures operating at the time of marriage seem to be at least as influential as homogamy-oriented norms that may have been internalized at earlier ages.

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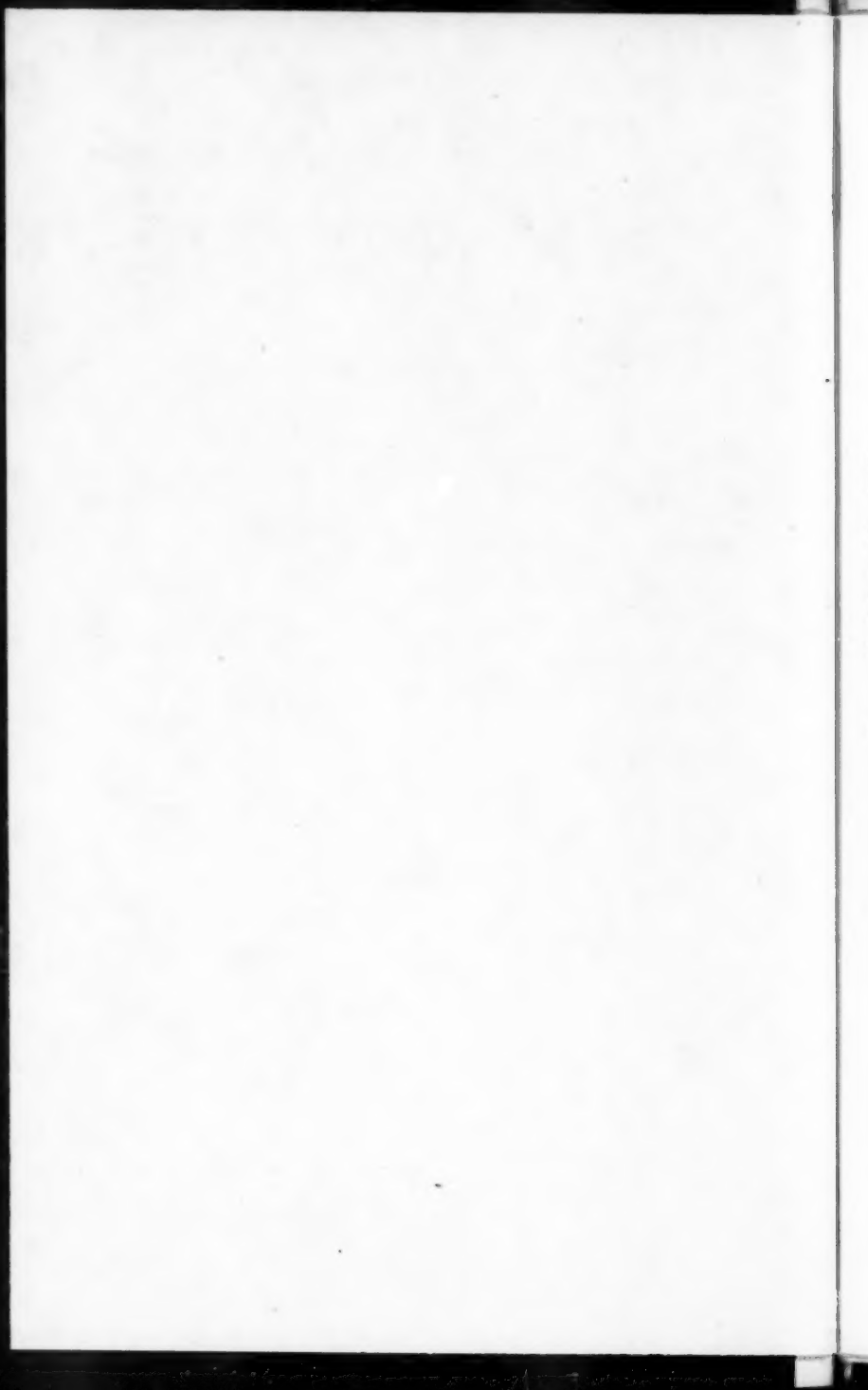
PRE-MARITAL EXPERIENCE AND THE WIFE'S
SEXUAL ADJUSTMENT*

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The publishers of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* in an advertisement appearing in the November 1953 issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* announced that this book would be referred to "again and again for factual information on such problems as . . . (the) relation of pre-marital sexual experience to the women's sexual adjustment in marriage." The chief pertinent finding reported in the 1953 volume is that there is "a marked, positive correlation between experience in orgasm obtained from premarital coitus and the capacity to reach orgasm after marriage." (4, p. 328) Otherwise stated, this finding means that a woman's orgasmic capacity in coitus before marriage is a good predictor of her orgasmic capacity in coitus after marriage. It would be surprising if this correlation were not found. (Ability to have orgasm in coitus ought to correlate highly with ability to have orgasm in coitus!)

Omitted from the Kinsey volume, however, is an analysis of the relationship of premarital coital experience *per se* and the sexual adjustment of the female in marriage. It seems appropriate that this relationship should be explored with the Kinsey data since prior research on this socially impor-

tant question has yielded contradictory results. (2, 3, 5, 8)

Fortunately there are relevant data in the Kinsey volume (as the advertisement suggests) which can clarify the relationship between pre-marital coital experience and sexual adjustment of the female in marriage. Harriet Mowrer has published the results of an analysis of some of these data. (6) She used indices other than orgasm rates as measures of sexual adjustment. Our purpose is to complement her analysis of the relevant Kinsey data by using orgasm rate as a measure of sexual adjustment.

ANALYSIS

For a *preliminary* answer to this problem, a record of the marital orgasm rates of women with and without experience in premarital coitus is needed. Such materials are available in Kinsey's Table 109, (4, p. 406), which is entitled "Pre-Marital Coital Experience vs. Percentage of Marital Coitus Leading to Orgasm." Because the Kinsey table separates those with and without premarital orgasm from various sources, it is necessary to combine together all those who had, and all those who did not have, premarital coital experience. The results of this combination are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.

FIRST AND FIFTH YEAR MARITAL ORGASM RATES OF WOMEN WITH AND WITHOUT PRE-MARITAL COITAL EXPERIENCE*

% of Marital Coitus With Orgasm	First Year of Marriage		Fifth Year of Marriage	
	No Pre-Marital Coitus	With Pre-Marital Coitus	No Pre-Marital Coitus	With Pre-Marital Coitus
None	27%	23%	17%	14%
1-29%	11	11	12	15
30-59	12.5	13	16	14
60-89	12.5	12	15	15
90-100	37	41	40	42
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	1129	1082	784	646

*Adapted from Table 109, (4, p. 406)
First Year of Marriage: Marshall's C = 2.34; P is less than .01.
Fifth Year of Marriage: Marshall's C = 1.08; P is approx. .14 (7)

It should be noted that the published Kinsey data seldom make possible rigorous comparison between homogeneous groups of subjects. For instance, we infer that the discrepancy between orgasm rates of those with and without experience in pre-marital coitus is reduced between the first and the fifth year of marriage. However, the former group is larger because many subjects were interviewed prior to the fifth year of marriage. Throughout this paper we have selected groups which are as nearly comparable as possible and hope that our analysis will stimulate the future publication of controlled analyses by Kinsey and his associates. Presumably the comparisons we have made are the best available basis for predicting the findings of such controlled analyses.

The data indicate that there is, in general, a small association between experience in pre-marital coitus and marital orgasm rate. During the first year of marriage the association is reliable at the .01 level of confidence. During the fifth year of marriage, however, the association is reduced so as to be unreliable (P is approximately .14). Our first conclusion, then, is that experience *per se* in pre-marital coitus is associated with the female's sexual responsiveness during the first year of marriage. However, further analysis is indicated before it can be determined whether or not this observed association is causal in nature.

Why should females who engage in pre-marital coitus have a higher orgasm rate during the first year of marriage? If a reliable answer can be found for this question, we can infer whether or not the observed relationship is causal.

What theories are available which would, if substantiated, account for the observed association between pre-marital coital experience and the sexual adjustment of females in marriage? Kinsey gives two suggestions and we add an obvious third. The theories themselves will be explained below as each is tested. However, since it is important to control the variables not being tested in a given test, it is appropriate to indicate in advance the crucial variables in each of these theories. These are: 1) the age at which the female begins her coital experience, 2) the amount of coital experience she has, and 3) the strength of her inhibitions about engaging in pre-marital coitus.

AGE AND SEXUAL RESPONSIVENESS

The first theory is taken from the Kinsey volume. If supported, this
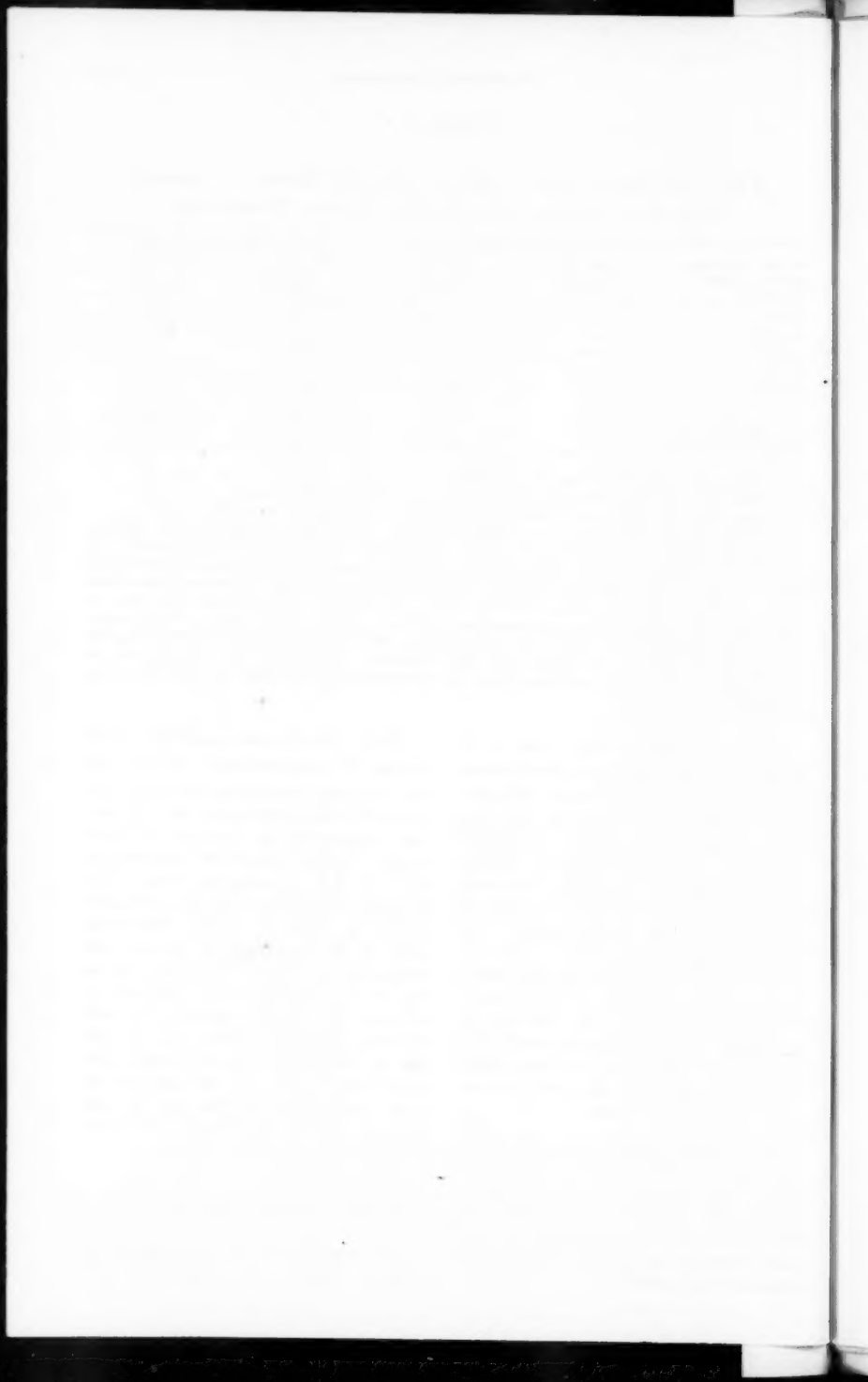
theory would account for the observed association and establish causality:

> At least theoretically, pre-marital socio-sexual experience . . . in coitus should contribute to this development of emotional capacities. In this as in other areas, learning at an early age may be more effective than learning at any later age after marriage. (4, p. 328) When there are long years of abstinence and restraint, and an avoidance of physical contacts and emotional responses before marriage, acquired inhibitions may do such damage to the capacity to respond that it may take some years to get rid of them after marriage, if indeed they are ever dissipated. (4, p. 330)

Here it is hypothesized that *the sooner after puberty a female begins her coital experiences the more she will respond since it will be easier to overcome inhibitions.**

In order to test this hypothesis it would be useful to compare the marital orgasm rates of two groups of women which have the following characteristics: (a) They ought to have the same amount of coital experience at the time of the test to control the experience variable. (b) The proportions of each group who engaged in pre-marital coitus ought to be the same. This would control the pre-marital inhibitions variable. (c) The two groups ought to differ with respect to the test variable—the average age at which coitus was first experienced.

Kinsey's data for groups of women who marry early or late may be used for this purpose. Kinsey's Table 79 (4, p. 337) shows that women married between the ages of sixteen and twenty (the "early" group) and those married between twenty-one and twenty-five (the "later" group) have similar amounts of pre-marital coital experience. By interpolation it is possible to estimate that the median "early" bride married at age nineteen whereas the median "later" bride married at twenty-three. At these two ages, the interpolated proportions who have ever engaged in pre-marital coitus are almost identical (39 per cent and 40 per cent respectively). Moreover, the accumulative incidences of the pre-marital coital experience at varying ages indicate that the later-marrying women consistently tend to lag behind the early-marrying women in the age at which their first pre-marital coitus occurs. This implies that the two groups are essentially comparable in terms both of the proportion who have ever had pre-marital coitus and in the length of time they had engaged in coitus before marriage. Therefore, the later-marrying group on the average experienced their first coitus (whether pre-marital or marital) several years later than the early marrying group.

If sexual inhibitions allowed to go undisturbed for several years longer are harder to overcome, we would expect the later-marrying group to have a less satisfactory sexual adjustment after marriage than those who marry early. The figures from Table 2 —

TABLE 2.

FIRST YEAR MARITAL ORGASM RATES BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE*

% of Marital Coitus With Orgasm	Age at First Marriage	
	Under 21	21-25
None	34%	22%
1-29%	9	11
30-59	10	13
60-89	12	13
90-100	35	41
TOTAL	100%	100%
Number of Cases	575	1118

*Source: Table 107, (4, p. 405)
Marshall's $C = 4.14$; P less than .001.

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*For an independent examination of this hypothesis against the same data see (1).

which are reproduced directly from Kinsey's Table 107, (4, p. 405)—show that the reverse is true, that is that during the first year of marriage it is the later-marrying women who experience the higher orgasm rate.

We may tentatively conclude from the reversal in these data that the first theory about a causal relation between pre-marital coital experience and marital orgasm rate has been disproved. With proper controls, a reversal is the best possible evidence that a hypothesis is untrue. In this case, however, the adequacy of the controls is limited. This is apparent from asking, "Why should orgasm rates be negatively associated with the age at first experience?" An obvious answer is that another factor, maturation, could be responsible for the reversal since it was uncontrolled. Hence, the early conclusion is questionable. But this much is certain, if maturation is the factor responsible, early experience is not appreciably effective in overcoming inhibitions since its presumed effects are masked so completely by another variable. This test of the theory, then, is less than adequate for giving a reliable explanation for the original observation that pre-marital coital experience and marital orgasm rates are associated during the first year of marriage.

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE AND SEXUAL RESPONSIVENESS

Perhaps *response to orgasm depends upon the development of coital skills which the female learns through experience*. Presumably these skills increase with the amount of experience, so that the observed association between female orgasm rate during the first year of marriage and pre-marital coital experience may result from greater experience. If verified, this theory would establish causality.

A comparison of the same early-and later-marrying females when age is held constant (both groups averaging twenty-four years of age) allows us to test this theory. At age twenty-four, the early-marrying group averages four years' more coital experience than the later-marrying groups. Hence, the groups differ with respect to the test variable—amount of experience. As indicated above, the two groups are comparable in terms of the number experiencing pre-marital coitus and, presumably, pre-marital inhibitions. Also, since the averages and ranges of the ages of the two groups are the same, maturation is controlled. The other variable, age of first experience, is uncontrolled, however. It also becomes a test variable whose predicted effects are in the same direction as those of the other test variable—amount of experience. If there is no difference between the two groups with respect to marital orgasm rates, both theories may be rejected. If there is the predicted difference between the two groups with respect to marital orgasm rates, then it is impossible to tell which of the two variables is responsible. But if the predicted relationship does obtain, we shall have an indication that the observed association between pre-marital coital experience and orgasm rates during the first year of marriage is causal in nature.

If the amount-of-experience and/or the early-experience theories are true, then, the early-marrying group should have a higher orgasm rate. The data in Table 3 indicate, however, that the later-marrying group has a slightly higher orgasm rate. The difference is unreliable, however. (P is approximately .20.) The proper inference is that there is no difference between the two groups with respect to orgasm rates. Hence, both theories considered thus far may be rejected with some confidence. An explanation of the observed association must be found in another theory.

TABLE 3.

MARITAL ORGASM RATES AT MEDIAN AGE 24 FOR EARLY AND LATER MARRYING WOMEN*

% of Marital Coitus With Orgasm	Early Marrying Group Married under 21 (Md. 19) (Fifth Year of Marriage)	Later Marrying Group Married 21-25 (Md. 23) (First Year of Marriage)
None	21%	22%
1-29%	14	11
30-59	13	13
60-89	16	13
90-100	36	41
TOTAL	100%	100%
Number of Cases	333	1118

*Source: Table 107, (4, p. 405)
Marshall's C=.82; P approximately .20.

INHIBITIONS AND SEXUAL RESPONSIVENESS

Kinsey provides the third theory that would account for the difference in marital orgasm rates of females who did and did not engage in coitus before marriage. It involves the generalization of inhibitions.

As children grow . . . it is customary in our culture to teach them that they must no longer make physical contacts, and must inhibit their emotional responses to persons outside of the immediate family. Many persons believe that this restraint should be maintained until the time of marriage. Then, after marriage, the husband and wife are supposed to break down all of their inhibitions and make physical and emotional adjustments which will contribute to the solidarity of the marital relationship. Unfortunately, there is no magic in a marriage ceremony which can accomplish this. The record indicates that a very high proportion of the females . . . find it difficult after marriage to redevelop the sort of freedom with which they made contacts as children, and to learn again how to respond without inhibition to physical and emotional contacts with other persons. (4, p. 328)

Interpreted loosely, the above quotation may be condensed into the following theory: *moral scruples which inhibit females from engaging in premarital coitus tend to become generalized, thereby interfering with orgasmic response in marital coitus.* In order to test this theory directly, it is necessary to find marital orgasm data for two groups of women, one of which was more inhibited about pre-marital coitus than the other.

Since pre-marital coitus is tabooed in Judeo-Christian teachings, devoutly religious women ought to be more inhibited about engaging in pre-marital coitus than those who are less devout. In the Kinsey volume, relevant data are available for married samples of religiously active and inactive Protestant and Catholic females and moderately active and inactive Jewish females. Of the three possible combinations, Protestant and Catholic samples were chosen. The available data support the inference that devout Protestant and Catholic women are more inhibited about pre-marital coitus than the respective inactive groups. (See Table 4)
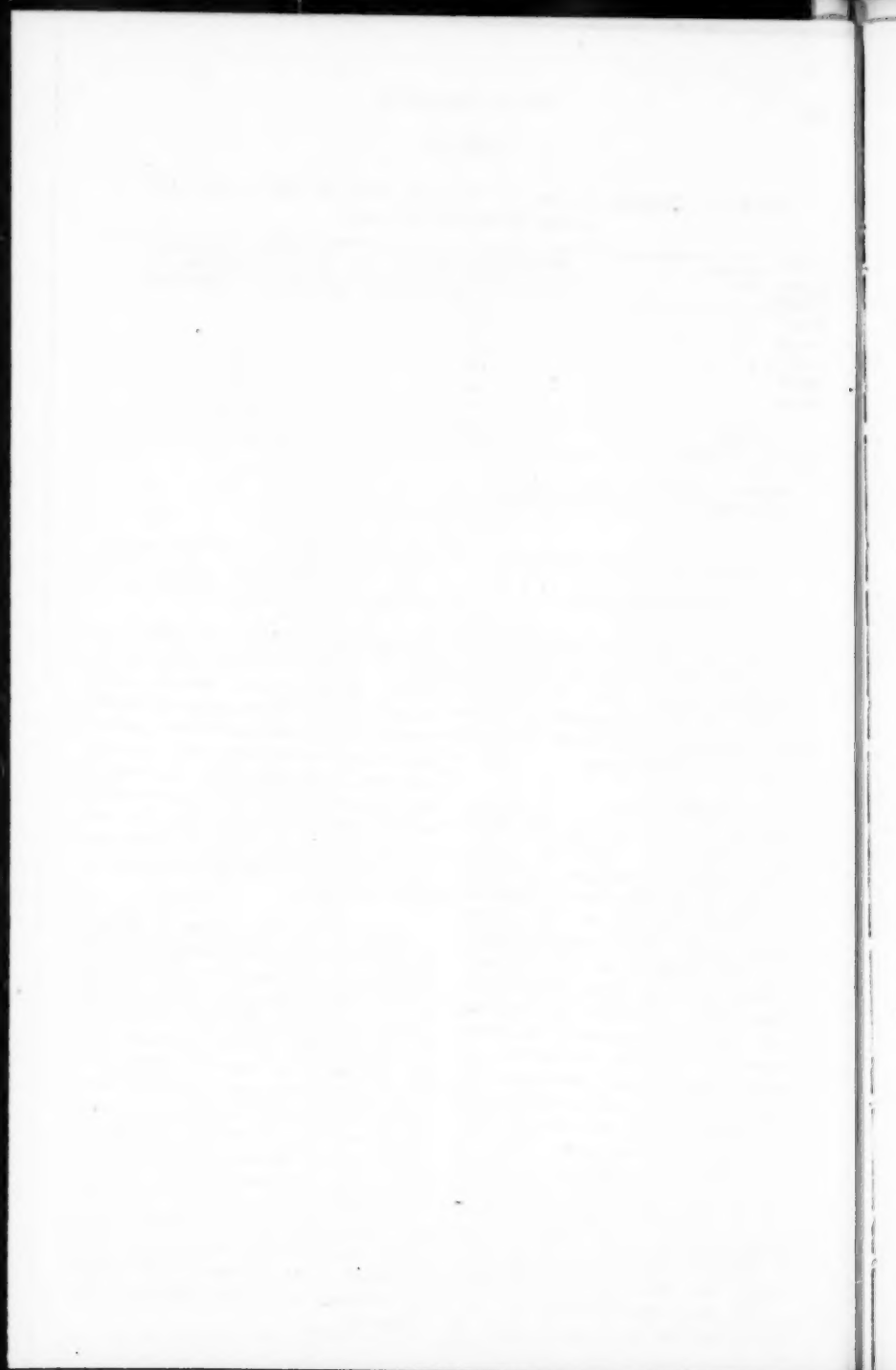
TABLE 4.

EXPERIENCES OF DEVOUT AND INACTIVE PROTESTANT AND
CATHOLIC WOMEN IN PRE-MARITAL COITUS*

| | Protestants | | Catholics | |
	Devout	Inactive	Devout	Inactive
Female Experience in Pre-marital Coitus Up to Age 20				
Pre-marital Coitus	14%	25%	12%	41%
No Pre-marital Coitus	86	75	88	59
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	860	887	261	122
Female Experience in Orgasm from Pre-marital Coitus Up to Age 20				
Coitus with Orgasm	43%	48%	25%	63%
Coitus without Orgasm	57	52	75	37
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	121	222	31	50
Female Expression of Regret Regarding Experience in Pre-marital Coitus, All Ages				
Regret	38%	20%	50%	16%
No Regret	62	80	50	84
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	295	490	86	90

* Sources: Adapted from Table 89, (4, p. 342); and Table 92, (4, p. 345). The percentage of women experiencing orgasm from pre-marital coitus is derived by dividing the published percentage of the total sample who had experienced orgasm from this source by the percentage of the total sample who had engaged in pre-marital intercourse

The data in Table 4 show that devout Protestant and Catholic women are somewhat more inhibited before marriage, in the sense that (a) they are more apt to refrain from pre-marital intercourse, (b) they are more apt to fail to achieve orgasm if they do engage in pre-marital coitus, and (c) they are more apt to regret coital experience if they have it. Hence, it seems safe to conclude that the two groups differ with respect to the test variable—pre-marital inhibitions.

Are these two sets of groups matched with respect to other relevant variables? They are not controlled with respect to age at first experience and amount of experience. However, since these variables have been shown to be unrelated to orgasm rates, controlling them is unnecessary. Matura-

tion of the two sets of groups is an unknown factor, but we have no reason to believe that such groups would differ with respect to maturation. Our above analysis indicates the proportion of females engaging in pre-marital experience is not related to age at marriage (at least for those who marry before twenty-five). Of course each set is controlled with respect to religious affiliation.

If sexual inhibitions are actually generalized from pre-marital to marital coitus, the orgasm rate of the "devout" women would be lower than the orgasm rates of the "inactives" after marriage. The data in Table 5 give mixed results, however. There is an unreliable difference between the orgasm rates of the devout and inactive Protestant females. (P approxi-

TABLE 5.

FIRST YEAR MARITAL ORGASM RATES OF DEVOUT AND INACTIVE PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS*

% of Marital Coitus With Orgasm	Protestants		Catholics	
	Devout	Inactive	Devout	Inactive
None	27%	26%	32%	22%
1-29%	10	12	18	7
30-59	13	10	13	11
60-89	10	13	5	14
90-100	40	39	32	46
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	430	564	112	88

*Source: Table 106, (4. p. 404)
Devout vs. Inactive Protestants: Marshall's C=.23; P greater than .40.
Devout vs. Inactive Catholics: Marshall's C=2.89; P less than .005.

mates .40) The difference between the orgasm rates of the devout and inactive Catholics is reliable (P is less than .01) and in the predicted direction.

What do these differential results mean? In our judgment, they may mean two things. (a) Protestant inhibitions may differ in kind from Catholic inhibitions. In Catholic doctrine, sexual pleasure is not a legitimate end in itself. Rather, such pleasure is justified only if there is a possibility of conception. Hence, the Catholic position on contraceptive procedures, homosexuality, masturbation, and celibacy. It is possible that the more devout Catholic females tend to acquire scruples against sex *per se*. On the contrary, devout Protestant females apparently develop scruples against pre-marital coitus *per se* but feel that sexual pleasure in marriage is not only legitimate but desirable. Hence, the observed discrepancy in Table 5.

The Catholic Church discourages the use of contraceptive procedures in general and forbids the use of contraceptive devices in particular. Protestant churches are more permissive in

this respect. This taboo against the use of contraceptive devices may produce a conflict for many devout Catholic females which her Protestant counterpart may escape. If she adopts reliable contraceptive practices, she is likely to suffer guilt feelings. If she refrains from using contraceptives, she is likely to be anxious about excessively frequent pregnancies. The permissible Catholic method (rhythm) was found in the Indianapolis study to be less than one-tenth as effective as the diaphragm and jelly method. (9) Insofar as anxiety or guilt is present, it would presumably distract most individuals during coitus and decrease their orgasm rates. Hence, the differential beliefs of the devout Protestant and Catholic females might also account for the pattern observed in Table 5.

If either of the above explanations is valid, (and both are consistent with the data in Table 5) then the third theory which would account for the association between pre-marital coitus and marital orgasm rates is likewise unsupported. Scruples about engaging in pre-marital coitus *per se* evidently do not generalize to marital coitus and, hence, do not depress the female's marital orgasm capacity.

Also, if either of the above explanations is valid, the association between pre-marital coital experience *per se* and marital orgasm rates would be predicted. Either could be a spurious factor which would account for the relationship. It is probable that more females who refrain from premarital coitus have generalized scruples against all sexual pleasure than is the case with those who engage in premarital coitus. It is also likely that more females who believe the use of reliable contraceptives is morally wrong refrain from pre-marital coitus than do females who believe the use of reliable contraceptives is permissible. It is impossible at present to test directly either of these theories since the data are unavailable.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to test hypotheses about the relationship of pre-marital coital experience *per se* and the wife's sexual adjustment as measured by marital orgasm rates. Data from the Kinsey report were recombined and interpreted for this analysis.

A reliable association was found between pre-marital coital experience and wives' orgasm rates during the first year of marriage. Three hypotheses, any one of which would give direct causal significance to this association, were then tested with Kinsey data. These are:

(a) The earlier after puberty a female begins her coital experience, the more she will respond (since it will be easier to overcome inhibitions).
(b) Response to orgasm depends upon the development of coital skills which the female learns through experience.
(c) Moral scruples which inhibit the female from engaging in premarital coitus tend to become generalized and, thereby,

to interfere with orgasmic response in marital coitus.

None of these hypotheses found empirical support. Two spurious factors, (generalized scruples against all sexual pleasure and internalized taboos against the use of reliable contraceptives) are consistent with and presumably account for the observed relationships. In combination, the results cast doubt on the validity of the hypothesis that pre-marital coital experience *per se* facilitates the wife's sexual adjustment as measured by orgasm rates. It should also be pointed out that the notion that pre-marital coital experience *per se* hinders the wife's sexual adjustment is also doubtful if orgasm rates are used as the measure. Rather, experience or inexperience in pre-marital intercourse seems to bear no consistent causal relationship to the wife's sexual adjustment.

Further research is needed. The three explanatory hypotheses ought to be retested in controlled *ex post facto* experiments. The relationship of generalized moral scruples to marital orgasm rates ought to be investigated more directly. The relationship of internalized taboos against the use of reliable contraceptives to marital orgasm rates should also be investigated directly. It is hoped that this paper will constitute a stimulus to such further investigations of these important questions.

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MEN, MERCHANTS, AND TOUGHS:
A STUDY OF REACTIONS TO IMPRISONMENT

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Many have argued that however much the prison may be softened by an accent on rehabilitation, the custodial institution must fail as an instrument of reform. We are urged to "break down the walls," to eliminate "useless relics of barbarianism." In plain fact, however, there is no escape from the necessity of confining large groups of criminals under conditions of deprivation for some time to come. Probation and other alternatives to imprisonment may be used more frequently, new forms of therapy may be employed more widely, and psychiatric services may replace solitary confinement. But even the most sanguine reformer cannot expect the complete elimination of the custodial institution in the short-run future. If the criminals confined in state and federal prisons are not to be dismissed as hopelessly lost from the ranks of the law-abiding, we must find a way of converting the custodial institution into a therapeutic community while still maintaining the high degree of control called for by the tasks of custody and internal order.

Students of this problem have, in recent years, increasingly turned their attention to the inmate social system. Existing sociological theory is sufficient to let us guess that it is not the details of prison architecture or recreational programs which play a major part in resocializing the offender. Rather, it is the daily patterns of social interaction—of inmate with inmate and guard with inmate—which must eventually determine whether or not the prison succeeds in reforming the prisoner. Cressey has put the matter briefly and well:

> Criminality is social in nature and, therefore, can be modified only if the criminal's relations with social groups are modified. ... Group relations which support criminality cannot be directly modified in a clinic in the way the condition of a person suffering from syphilis can be modified in a clinic; they can be modified only by providing the criminal with new social relations or in some way changing the nature of present group relations. (3)

We are thus confronted with two vital theoretical issues. First, to what extent and in what way does the existing inmate social system create, maintain, or strengthen criminal modes of behavior? And second, how can those aspects of inmate interaction which work against rehabilitation be modified?* It seems clear that insofar as criminals in prison learn to play social roles which involve force, fraud, and chicanery in interpersonal relationships, the custodial institution is serving as a training ground for criminality rather than adherence to legal norms; and to the extent that these exploitative tactics are supported or reinforced by the social structure of the prison, the transformation of the custodial institution into a therapeutic community is faced with a major barrier. (4) Before this barrier can be surmounted, we need more precise information about the nature and distribution of these social roles, and their determinants and consequences.

This paper, therefore, is an attempt to throw some light on (a) the prevalence of exploitative roles in the inmate social system, i.e., roles which involve force, fraud, and chicanery in inmate relationships; (b) the correlation between exploitation and allegiance to the inmate population; and (c) the status of individuals playing exploitative roles in the inmate social system.

The data for this paper are based on a random sample of one hundred and fifteen adult male criminals confined in a maximum security prison located on the eastern seaboard of the United States. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the institution is a "typical" one; yet there is a good deal of evidence suggesting that prisons—and particularly maximum security prisons—have a remarkable tendency to over-ride the variations of time and place. Custodial institutions appear to form a group of social systems differing in detail but alike in their fundamental processes, a genus or family of sociological phenomena.

Information about the behavior of the inmate while in prison was secured from his official record, the files of the disciplinary court, and questionnaires administered to the guard of the inmate's cellblock and the shop officer of the prisoner's work detail. The use of prison officials to assess the behavior of inmates—as opposed, let us say, to the use of fellow prisoners—has certain admitted disadvantages. But three points should be noted: (a) the officials have had the opportunity for prolonged and detailed observation in a wide variety of situations; (b) the officials were asked for relatively objective facts rather than more subjective evaluations; and (c) there is some reason to doubt if inmates would be any more dispassionate in their description of one another than would officials, even if the suspicions of prisoners could be allayed successfully.

The crimes which brought the men in the sample to prison range from murder to desertion, but four general categories account for a majority of the offenders: 24 per cent have been convicted of felonious homicide, 24 per cent of burglary, 20 per cent of robbery, and 12 per cent of larceny in a variety of forms. The median age of the group is 35 years and 63 per cent have had less than nine years of formal schooling. Negroes comprise 38 per cent of the sample. The reports of the institution's psychologist indicate that 55 per cent of the group are average or better in mental level, the remainder being classified as full normal, inferior, borderline, or

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* In a less than perfect society where confinement is used as a means of deterrence and reform, it is possible that the prison is a "success" if only it does not make the offender worse. However, it does not seem overly optimistic to suppose that the prison can do more than simply stand still.

deficient. In the matter of psychological abnormality, 24 per cent are said to have "no psychosis," 25 per cent are labelled "psychopathic personality," and 30 per cent are diagnosed as "constitutional defective." The terms epileptic, chronic alcoholic, constitutional inferior, and neurotic exhaust the rest. A large share—65 per cent have experienced confinement in a penal institution for a year or more prior to their present imprisonment and only 16 per cent exhibit no previous criminal record. Half of the sample has been in the prison for three years or more and 25 per cent can look forward to being detained on their release for questioning by the police and possible trial in connection with other crimes. These are the outstanding characteristics of the group of prisoners to whose patterns of interaction in the inmate social system we now turn.

PATTERNS OF EXPLOITATION

In the literature of criminology, the totalitarian structure of the maximum security prison is usually presented as a striking anomaly in a democratic society. The detailed regulations extending into every area of the individual's life, the constant surveillance, and the wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled—all are portrayed as elements of a repressive regime.

But the loss of liberty, although it is fundamental to all the rest, is only one of the many deprivations posed by confinement. The prisoner is also faced with the loss of material goods and services, heterosexual relationships, personal autonomy, symbolic affirmation of his value as an individual, and a variety of other benefits which are more or less taken for granted in the free community. In one sense these are simply frustrations inflicted by society as a penalty for crime, but it is important to recognize that they represent profound threats to the

captive's ego as well. The inmate is stripped of the usual marks of status in a culture which tends to equate material possessions with personal worth. The preoccupation with homosexuality, commonly observed among prisoners and guards alike, is evidence in part of the anxieties about one's masculinity which appear among men without women. And as Bettelheim has tellingly noted in his materials on the concentration camp, individuals under guard are subject to the ego-threat of losing their identification with the normal adult role; i.e., inmates are under pressure to accept a picture of themselves as weak, helpless, or dependent. (1)

Preliminary interviewing revealed a set of terms in the prison argot which are used by inmates and guards as pungent labels for the major reactive patterns to these frustrations or threats. As Strong has pointed out, social groups are apt to characterize individuals in terms of crucial "axes of life"—or lines of interest, problems, and concerns which the group faces—and then attach distinctive names to the resulting types or roles. (7) This process appears to be at work in the prison with its argot terminology for various types of prisoners, and an analysis of these labels uncovered a number of behavioral traits which represent aspects of adjustment to the rigors of the prison environment.

One solution for the deprivations posed by imprisonment lies in the exploitation of fellow captives by means of manipulation and conniving. Sharp dealings in the exchange of goods stolen from the supplies of the mess hall, workshops, and maintenance details; trickery and fraud in gambling; sycophancy to secure one's ends; never "giving" but always "selling;" * hood-

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* The prison population, like many social groups, carefully distinguishes between a neatly balanced reciprocity of "gifts" and business transactions.

winking officials to effect the transfer of another inmate either to eliminate an unwelcome competitor or to make a position available for a confederate—all are forms of a manipulative mode of adjustment to the frustrations of prison life whereby escape from frustration is bought at the expense of other prisoners. In the argot of the institution studied, the individual who adopts such a role is frequently called a *merchant* or *peddler*. A rough measure of this mode of adjustment for the inmates in the sample is provided by the ratings of the cellblock guard and shop officer accorded each prisoner on four items. The items, couched in the work-a-day language of the institution, consist of questions about the inmate's behavior and the dichotomized responses form a Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .95. The items appear on the scale—from highest to lowest frequency of positive responses—as follows: (a) skill in "figuring angles"; (b) "stinginess" toward other inmates; (c) "gypping" other inmates in transactions; and (d) "brown-nosing" other inmates for personal gain.

These tactics of exploitation, so largely compounded of fraud or chicanery, are clearly distinguishable from another pattern of reaction to the deprivations of prison life which involves the use of violence as a means to gain one's ends. The inmates speak of the *tough* or *gorilla* who establishes a satrapy based on coercive force; weaker or more fearful inmates are intimidated into providing the amenities of life, sexual favors, and gestures of deference. Actually, it would appear that three types of violence crop up in the patterns of interaction among inmates and only one of these can be accurately labelled as *instrumental* violence. The explosive, expressive violence generated in a quarrel and the smouldering violence of the man who is pushed to the limits

of endurance also exist. The items in the questionnaire administered to the guards with the design of eliciting information about the inmates' use of violence as a means show some ambiguity. None the less, four questions concerning the prisoner's proneness to the show of force provide a scale which apparently measures instrumental violence fairly successfully. The pattern of dichotomized responses has a coefficient of reproducibility of .98 and the questions, again in order of frequency of positive responses from highest to lowest, deal with the following topics: (a) arrogant or overbearing behavior; (b) the show of physical "toughness"; (c) the use of force "to get things"; and (d) starting fights with other inmates. The last item, which might appear on the surface to reflect expressive, rather than instrumental, violence, seems to reveal a use of force to insure dominance instead of an outburst of anger.

Since the scale of manipulation and the scale of instrumental violence are each composed of four dichotomized items, there are five ranks in each scale; and if we group the ranks on each scale into "highs" and "lows" (scale types 4-3-2 versus scale types 1-0), we can classify the inmates in the sample into four major patterns of adjustment. (See Table 1.) At this

TABLE 1.

PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT AMONG
115 ADULT MALE PRISONERS

Pattern	Scale Score Scale of "manipulation"	Scale of "instrumental violence"	Percentage of sample
I	high	high	35
II	low	high	10
III	high	low	30
IV	low	low	25

point we must be cautious, since the classification of individuals into particular patterns of adjustment is based on the arbitrary division of the two

scales which in turn are marked by the weakness of a small number of items. But bearing these limitations in mind, there seems reason to believe that a large proportion of the inmate population is playing social roles which involve the exploitation of fellow-prisoners through force, fraud, or chicanery.

PATTERNS OF LOYALTY TO
THE INMATE SOCIAL SYSTEM

A number of writers have hypothesized that building iron bonds of loyalty to other prisoners as a group is an important part of turning an inmate into a hardened criminal while in prison. The individual supposedly learns to identify himself with other offenders, to develop a sense of alliance with a criminal world which is in conflict with the forces of law and order. However, we do not believe this to be true; instead, we suspect that the individual who becomes most deeply enmeshed in criminal modes of behavior is the individual who is alienated from *both* fellow-prisoners and prison officials.

Now it is true that the percentage of inmates defined by the guards as individuals who would probably side with the inmate group in an ultimate crisis of loyalties such as a riot is 45 per cent, 50 per cent, 12 per cent and 3 per cent in the patterns of

adjustment I, II, III, and IV respectively; in this limited sense, inmates who play the role of exploiter and who are presumably being "trained" in criminal modes of behavior tend to identify themselves with fellow offenders. (See Table 2.) Yet solidarity with other criminals is perhaps not best measured by how the individual may behave in a rare crisis; rather, we should look to the more common acts of betrayal and disloyalty which take the form of "ratting" or "squealing" on fellow inmates.

If the betrayal of a group member to the enemy is the touchstone of solidarity, the cohesiveness of criminals in prison is sadly lacking—41 per cent of the individuals in the sample are identified by the guards as men who "squeal" on their fellow prisoners. Our materials thus lend some confirmation to the statement that ". . . even the most sacred rule of the inmate code, the law against squealing, is daily violated and evaded with impunity. Contrary to the propaganda generated by the more solemn of the inmate clergy in defense of their code, informers and betrayers require little or no seduction by prison officials." (6) And it is the exploiter who tends to engage in this form of disloyalty. (See Table 2.) To a large extent, informing on fellow inmates is another form of exploitation, since it usually involves an attempt to secure preferential treatment at the ex-

TABLE 2.

PERCENTAGE OF PRISONERS IN PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT
BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

Selected characteristics	Patterns of Adjustment (in percentages)				Level of significance*
	I	II	III	IV	
1) side with inmates in a riot	45	50	12	3	.01
2) inform on fellow inmates	55	50	38	21	.05
3) will "go straight"	-18	17	24	76	.01
4) committed offenses in prison	53	83	32	28	.01
5) not respected by other inmates	57	33	38	7	.01
6) feared by other inmates	80	58	27	25	.01

* Computed by means of chi square for 4x2 contingency tables

pense of others or a skillful tactic of internecine warfare whereby officials are gulled into settling inmate grudges. But it is exploitation with a difference, in that it more or less requires a clear breach in the individual's identification with the inmate population.

It is doubtful if this lack of allegiance to other criminals is a token of ideological commitment to the forces of law and order or that it even represents the bare beginnings of reformation. Rather, it would appear that the reverse is true—that the inmate who is alienated from fellow prisoners to the extent that he exploits and betrays them for his personal aggrandizement is a man who has set his face against all normative demands. A rough indication of this is given by the guards' estimates of which inmates will "go straight" when released. The data show that the inmates in pattern IV receive this accolade far more frequently than the inmates in patterns I, II, and III. (See Table 2.) And it is certainly true that exploiters present more serious behavioral problems in prison than do non-exploiters. When we examine the disciplinary record of the inmates in the sample, we find that the percentage of individuals convicted of offenses against the institutional rules is highest in the exploitative patterns of adjustment. (See Table 2.) Although many of these infractions represent rebellion against the officials, it is also true that a large number of these detected violations involve coercion and deceit in inmate-inmate relationships. In short, there is reason to believe that in so far as the individual's role in the inmate social system of interaction influences criminality, it does so not by inculcating a sense of identification with the criminal world —as represented by fellow criminals in prison—but by habituating the individual to a war of all against all.

Before we leave this admittedly complex and difficult issue, one fur-

ther point should be noted. The question can be raised as to whether there are not "islands of solidarity" within the larger inmate group in the form of tightly-knit cliques made up of exploiters. It is true that our materials show that all 16 of the prisoners identified as "clique-men" (2) in the sample are to be found in patterns of adjustment I and II, but unfortunately the questionnaire data are not sufficient to give us a definite answer about the extent of solidarity within the clique. However, unstructured interviewing of guards and inmates indicates that cliques of exploiters are at best an uneasy alliance, often marked by suspicion and a rigid stratification in terms of domination and subordination, and that they are held together by fear rather than mutual identification.

PATTERNS OF RESPECT

In many social groups certain roles are accompanied by both the respect of others and more material rewards. These two benefits, buttressing one another, often provide an adequate picture of the motives which lead an individual to assume a particular part in the system of interaction. In the prison, however, exploitation is the major route to winning goods and services beyond the subsistence level and the exploiter tends to stand low in the eyes of his fellow prisoners—the percentage of inmates characterized as "not respected" in the exploitative patterns of adjustment is higher than in the non-exploitative pattern. (See Table 2.)

This fact is particularly interesting in the light of the frequently held assumption that it is the role of the *tough* (however it may be labelled) which is accorded the highest prestige in the society of the prison. Undoubtedly there is a good deal of ambivalence on this score, for as McCorkle

and Korn have observed. ". . . the dominating value of the inmate social system seems to be the possession and exercise of coercive power. . . . The authoritarian character of inmate relationships suggests that members of the system offer no exception to the general psychological observation that the victims of power tend to regard its possession as the highest personal value." (6) It is possible, therefore, that although many inmates fear and condemn the individual who manipulates and coerces them,* they still aspire to reverse their roles. The exploitative prisoner may exercise great influence in the life of the prison—not as an admired leader to whom others willingly subordinate themselves, but as a model for behavior which is viewed with both disparagement and desire; and we can presume that the actual assumption of the exploiter's role is accompanied by a series of rationalizations which justify taking advantage of companions in misery.

However, the fact that individuals who score low on both scales of exploitation tend to be respected seems to be due to something more than refraining from the use of manipulation and violence. The sample data indicates that these individuals are characterized as inmates who "keep their promise," exhibit bravery, possess a certain aloofness which is perhaps best described as "personal dignity," and so on, with a significantly greater frequency than prisoners in patterns of adjustment I, II, and III. The vocabularies of the guards and inmates do not have any clear-cut term to designate the cluster of behavior patterns which is accorded respect in the inmate social system, but the phrase *real man* seems to be used more than any other; and the traits which go into the argot-role of *real man* appear not simply as a lack of

* See Table 2.

exploitation but also, and more positively, as mutual aid and personal worth.*

From a structural point of view, this role has an obvious utility to the compressed prison population existing under conditions of prolonged deprivation. It calls for cooperation rather than conflict, restraint rather than license, an ability to endure hardship rather than a readiness to resort to individualistic striving—the requisites of group survival in a threatening environment.** Yet it is a role in the inmate social system which is filled by relatively few prisoners, partly, we suspect, because of the ambivalence of the prestige system, partly because prestige and material rewards do not coincide, and partly because criminals in prison are peculiarly unfitted both by previous experience and inclination to adapt themselves to the need of the collectivity.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In describing the reactions of men to imprisonment, we may be describ-

* Although many of the individuals who are non-exploiters play the role of *real man*, a number of the inmates in pattern IV seem to have withdrawn from exploitation and solidarity alike, and to have become almost completely isolated from the life of the prison.

** It is of interest to note that a number of primitive societies precariously balanced on the edge of survival accord high prestige to a closely analogous social role. In certain Eskimo groups, for example, there is the *inhumitak*, "he who thinks"; the *pimain*, "he who knows everything best"; and the *anaiyuhok*, "the one to whom all listen." Cf. Hoebel, E. A., *The Law of Primitive Man*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954), 82. Individuals playing these roles are evidently viewed as *primus inter pares*, and exercise power by example and suggestion rather than command. Theirs is a charismatic leadership rather than a charismatic authority, and the *real man* appears to function in much the same fashion.

ing four basic patterns of adjustment to any situation which involves some degree of goal frustration. It is not surprising, therefore, that Parsons' "directions of deviant orientation" (5) bears a close resemblance to these patterns: the active, aggressive use of other people as a means, both by the manipulation of verbal symbols and by violence; the use of one or the other of these methods of exploitation but not both; and the more passive, withdrawn, and conforming mode.

The maximum security prison, however, is unique in the extent of the frustrations imposed, the enforced intimacy among those who are frustrated, and the prior training in deviance possessed by inmates. The result would seem to be a social group marked by a high degree of internal exploitation where fellow sufferers are scorned as powerless victims even more than the custodians are despised as symbols of oppression. Far from being a prison *community*, men in prison tend to react as individuals and refuse to suspend their intra-mural conflict when confronting the enemy, the prison officials. Those who dominate others are viewed with a mingled fear, hatred, and envy; and the few who manage to retreat into solidarity may well be penalized in the struggle to evade the poverty-stricken existence—both material and immaterial —prescribed by the institution.

If we are correct in assuming that the more exploitative roles of the inmate social system provide practice in deception and violence, the problem of changing the custodial institution into a therapeutic community becomes in part the problem of decreasing the number of individuals who play the part of *merchant* or *tough*. Since these roles seem to be rooted in a major problem of the inmate group—the frustrations or threats of the prison environment—it might be argued that we could reduce the number of prisoners playing these roles by lessening the frustrations. Unfortunately, attempts in this direction have often failed because the patterns of exploitation have reappeared at a higher or more complex level; increases in freedom of movement, inmate responsibility, and material possessions have set the stage for more bitter struggles with higher stakes. Indeed, there seems to be some reason to doubt whether the rigors of prison life can ever be lessened sufficiently to solve the problem. There are many good arguments for improving the lot of the prisoner, but a proven increase in the number of reformed criminals is not one of them.

An alternative (and at present theoretically unpopular) solution lies in strict control by prison officials. Inmates are in effect to be forced out of exploitative roles by making it impossible or extremely difficult for prisoners to follow such patterns of adjustment. This position has many difficulties. For one thing, it opens the door to brutality or simple indifference to inmates' legitimate needs —but a serious reconsideration of its place in programs of therapy is called for.

In any event, it is evident that the inmate social system is marked by strong centrifugal forces which hamper the task of rehabilitation in that they spring from the widespread existence of force and guile in interpersonal relationships. At the same time, the fact that the inmate population does not form a closely allied group of criminals united in their conflict with the prison officials offers some hope of constructing a situation which moves the individual in the direction of reform.

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SOCIAL RESEARCH AND SOCIAL ACTION IN PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY *
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Most workers in the field of juvenile delinquency are painfully aware of the wide gap between the amount of past and ongoing research in this area and the difficulty in translating our knowledge into effective preventive action. No doubt there are many reasons for this difficulty, some of them inherent in the very complexity and scope of the problem. But it is becoming increasingly clear that some, and perhaps major, reasons are methodological: the tradition of our research approach seems to be remarkably sterile.

The following discussion concerns itself primarily with these methodological reasons for the notorious deficiency in our knowledge of how to prevent juvenile delinquency. The analysis of the problem will be illustrated by a case study, the problem of prevention of narcotics use among juveniles.

To begin with, let us briefly consider how much have we learned about the problem of juvenile delinquency in the past thirty years of empirical study.

* This article is based on a paper read at the Conference of the American Association of Public Opinion Research, May 25, 1956.

WHAT WE KNEW IN THE 1920'S AND WHAT WE KNOW NOW

In 1925 an English psychologist and educator, Cyril Burt, published a book on "The Young Delinquent" (2), which (in England at least) is still mentioned as a classic in the field. In this 600-page classic, Burt, who had been working with juvenile delinquents for many years, carefully evaluated available evidence concerning the variety of factors contributing to juvenile misbehavior and concluded that crime springs from a "multiplicity of . . . converging factors" . . ."a concurrence of subversive factors." "The nature of these factors and of their varying combinations differ greatly from one individual to another and juvenile offenders, as is amply clear, are far from constituting a homogeneous class."

In spite of this variation, however, Burt listed a number of "major" background factors which he found discernible in about 96% of the several hundred cases he studied. Among them we find poverty, defective family relations—especially the absence of a father and defective discipline—a family history of vice and crime, and emotional and intellectual disturb-

ances in the personality, especially "mental dullness" and "temperamental instability."

In 1953, almost 30 years after the publication of this classic, the Youth Board of the City of New York, a most forward-looking agency, undertook a four-year study in two elementary schools to test the validity of a prediction-of-delinquency scale developed, after many years of intensive research, by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. This scale is composed of three basic variables: parental discipline and supervision, parental affection, and family cohesiveness. A preliminary report indicates that the predictive use of the scale is likely to be validated with a high degree of significance.

The juxtaposition of these two theories of causal factors in juvenile delinquency would indicate that not much new has been added, but, rather, that the understanding already available three decades ago has been tested, narrowed down, and specified.

But how about prevention? Certainly the goal of most, if not of all, of our investigations into the causes of juvenile crime was to learn how to prevent it. Here, unhappily, our achievements are even more modest.

Writing 30 years ago, Cyril Burt recommended the following six basic pillars of a prevention and rehabilitation program (2, pp. 584-587):

1. All young persons who show delinquent tendencies should be dealt with at the earliest possible stage. Parents should be taught that the pre-school period is a period vitally decisive. . . . Teachers should be urged to watch, and when necessary to report, all who show antisocial inclinations . . . When the school period is over, after-care workers should be persuaded to extend their supervision to the social conduct, as well as the industrial efficiency, of children who have just left; and, above all, special efforts should be made to meet the transitional phase of adolescence.

2. The problem of delinquency in the young must be envisaged as but one inseparable portion of the larger enterprise for child welfare. Crime in children is not a unique, well-marked, or self-contained phenomenon, to be handled solely by the policeman and the children's court. It touches every side of social work. The teacher, the care committee worker, the magistrate, the probation officer, all who come into official contact with the child, should be working hand in hand not only with each other, but with all the clubs, societies, and agencies, voluntary as well as public, that seek to better the day-to-day life of the child.

3. The delinquent himself must be approached individually as a unique human being with a peculiar constitution, peculiar difficulties, and peculiar problems of his own. . . . The court, therefore, and whatever authority has to grapple with such cases must at all times regard not the offense, but the offender. The aim must not be punishment, but treatment; and the target not isolated actions, but their causes. . . . Such authorities must have access to all available information and possess means to make for every case intensive investigations of their own. . . . A social investigator must report upon home circumstances; a medical officer must inspect the child for physical defects; a psychologist must be at hand to apply mental tests, to assess temperamental qualities, and to analyze unconscious motives. A psychological clinic embodying all these different workers studying the same cases scientifically, side by side, is the most pressing need of all.

4. The remedies, in the same way, will be adapted, not to the nature of the offense, but to the nature of the factors provoking it. Probation should be employed with a larger freedom, and at the same time with finer discrimination; it should include, for each separate case, not merely passive surveillance, but active and constructive efforts. . . . After-care, in particular, calls for further extension; to lavish a hundred pounds upon the intensive training of a youth in an institution and then suddenly to fling him loose into the old environment, sparing neither time nor trouble for further aid and following-up, is not economy but waste.

5. Fuller knowledge is urgently wanted: it is wanted both in regard to the causation of crime and in respect of the relative efficacy of different remedial measures. Only from the organization of

research can this fuller knowledge come, and organized research means an established criminological department. The fruits of such research should be made immediately accessible to the practical officer, and courses of instruction should be arranged where all who have to deal with the young offender may learn the latest and best accredited results of modern criminal psychology.

6. Finally, society must aim at prevention as well as at cure. Housing, medical treatment, continued education, the psychological study of children in schools, improved industrial conditions, increased facilities for recreation, the cautious adoption of practicable eugenic measures, and above all, sustained investigation into all the problems of childhood—these are but a few of the countless needs to be supplied, if delinquency in the young is to be not merely cured as it arises, but diverted, forestalled, and so far as possible wiped out.

This, let us remember, was said on the basis of the available research evidence of over 30 years ago. Let us now take a look at our current accomplishments in the field of preventive action.

We have very few studies on *what* can be done to arrest the rising tide of juvenile delinquency, *how* it might be done, and *how effective* the efforts are. Consider research reported in the *Current Sociological Research* series for the past three years. About 30 to 40 studies on criminology and sociology of law are studied each year. Most of these studies deal with the description of the ongoing practices in criminal procedure, or statistical description of crime rates and areas of high delinquency, or a refinement of analysis of background factors. Of the over one hundred studies reported in the past three years, only 10 have anything to do with the evaluation of some way of handling some aspect of the problem, and of these, eight deal with evaluation of treatment in correctional institutions, that is, at the end of the line, after the crime has been committed. Only one research project dealt with an evaluation of a preventive program in the community.

Neither was there much activity in this area in the past years. We have available a survey of delinquency prevention programs in this country and of the measure of their success. The survey was recently prepared by Helen Witmer and Edith Tufts of the Children's Bureau. (8) There have been a number of preventive programs in various parts of the country, some of them carried on over a period of many years and evaluated—in a manner. One striking characteristic of all these programs is that each is focused on *one* simple aspect of the supposed multiple causal factors: better recreational facilities *or* detached group workers *or* better community facilities *or* friendly counselling *or* child guidance treatment *or* an "area" approach stimulating grass-roots responsibility and neighborhood feeling. We may add that not even the New York City Youth Board, which includes many approaches in its program, pursues any of these in an integrated fashion in any one area of the city; in effect, its program consists of a congeries of programs rather than of one program.

Another characteristic of these programs is that those who had set them up truly believed that their particular program would make a significant difference in delinquency rates, and were genuinely disappointed when evaluation in those terms showed no results whatsoever. The authors of the survey sum up by asking, "What does it all add up to in knowledge about how to prevent or reduce delinquency?"—and their answer is, "With certainty, rather little."

When we compare this sad state of affairs with Cyril Burt's six points, we are faced with a most embarrassing situation. Not only have we not learned anything in the past 30 years, but we seem to have proceeded on premises which common sense, logic, and available knowledge would declare to be most naive. What, then, interferes with the progress of applied

and applicable knowledge in this field?

Let us take a case in point: the problem of understanding and controlling narcotics use among juveniles. By looking at it, we will obtain a clear picture of most of the difficulties in the general field of delinquency prevention.

A CASE STUDY: HOW TO PREVENT NARCOTICS USE BY JUVENILES

1. *The first step: understanding the nature of the problem.* When the most recent wave of juvenile drug use hit the headlines some five years ago and the staff of the Research Center for Human Relations started its investigations at the request of the National Institute of Mental Health,* we were exploring a virtually unknown territory. Available information was for the most part unsystematic or unreliable or both. Consequently, in planning a series of studies, we felt compelled to obtain first, a bird's-eye view of each of the many aspects of this phenomenon which might be likely to play a role as a contributing factor. Using the customary methods, we pinpointed the New York City areas where the greatest juvenile users live and investigated the distinguishing characteristics of these neighborhoods; we looked into the backgrounds and past histories of the juvenile drug users; we studied their family situations and their relations with peers; we tried to understand the general climate of values and attitudes which is hospitable to a favorable attitude to drug use; we studied the role of the street gang in the spread of drug use and the relation between drug use and other forms of delinquency. We worked closely with a psychiatrist who

* A series of studies have been conducted since 1952 by Donald L. Gerard, Robert S. Lee, Eva Rosenfeld, and Daniel M. Wilner, under the general direction of Isidor Chein. See (3), (4), and (6).

had done studies of the personality of juvenile addicts and is currently engaged in therapeutic work with addicts.

Thus, we arrived, after several years of research, at a general understanding concerning the social and psychic dynamics behind the problem. The picture that emerged is, briefly, as follows:

The adolescent boy who becomes involved with drugs, continues to use them regularly, and eventually reaches the stage of being "hooked" is, usually, a member of a deprived racial or ethnic group, often a native-born son of immigrant parents, whose family lives in one of the poorest and most disorganized areas of the city, though their own social and financial standing is often higher that what is typical for the area. His family is a source of special strain and deprivation. Relations between parents are seriously disturbed. The father is absent or hostile or weak. The mother's attitude to the son is extreme: either passionate and consuming, or cool and distant. Parental discipline is either overindulging or extremely harsh. Parental standards and expectations are unclear and unrealistic—too high or too low. Their general attitude to life and to society is pessimistic and distrustful.

The boy's personality is seriously damaged. He might be suffering from overt or incipient schizophrenia. Whatever the form of his disturbance, however, he is almost certain to have a weak, inadequate ego and a poorly functioning superego. He also has serious problems in sexual identification, distrusts authority and has a poor sense of reality, especially regarding his own future. As he reaches young adulthood at the age of 16, 17, or 18, he enters situations with which he cannot cope. He faces failure and loneliness of which he is deeply afraid.

He is likely to be more or less loosely attached to one of the street gangs in the neighborhood. Unlike his well-adjusted neighbor, he has made no efforts to stay away from the aggressive, delinquent "cats," though their violent "hell-raising" may not be quite to his taste. But he stays in their orbit. He gains some measure of support from a sense of belonging to a group. In this group, he becomes exposed to drugs, marijuana, and heroin, taken at parties for a kick, in a spirit of experimenting with danger. The drug has a pacifying effect —his sadness, loneliness, anxiety seem to vanish, and he experiences a pleasurable relief from unbearable tension. The gang frowns upon uncontrolled use of drugs which leads to addiction. For a year, or even two, he may use the drug irregularly. But the time comes when the gang loses its cohesiveness, hell-raising becomes "kid stuff," and some of the less disturbed youngsters turn their minds to growing up in a man's world, going "steady," finding a good job. It is at this point that, having to face life alone, as a man, the anxious and inadequately functioning boy falls back on the pacifying and engrossing life of a habitual user. Enmeshed in the pattern of activities revolving around the purchase, sale, and use of heroin, and the delinquent efforts to get money to meet the exorbitant cost of the drug, the young user can comfortably forget about girls, careers, status, and recognition in the society at large. His sexual drive is diminished, he is able to maintain a sense of belonging to the immature, limited world of the addict. He can remain a child forever. He can give up all sense of responsibility for his life and conveniently project the blame for his shiftless existence on his "habit."

His chances for a cure are very small. Physical withdrawal does not take away the psychic need for some relief from inner tension, nor does it erase the memory of the relief brought by opiates. The road from the hospital or jail to the drug peddler is short, indeed. His resistance to psychotherapy is great; he feels that it offers nothing but increased anxiety and his tolerance of anxiety is, as we said, very low.

This is a bare outline of our knowledge. It satisfied our need for understanding and we took a pause for reflection.

2. *The second step: drawing implications for action.* Our investigation was started with the general idea of learning something of relevance to the *solution* of a social problem. On the basis of our data, we regretfully find ourselves unable to recommend any specific action. Knowing the forces that *contribute* to a social evil tells us nothing about how to eradicate the evil. In fact, why should it? There is no logical reason why the weapon most effective in destroying a social phenomenon should be in a direct way related to the forces that make it grow. The general purpose of the type of exploratory studies we did is not so much to discover how to eradicate the evil but, rather, how *not* to try to eradicate it. For, by highlighting the enormous complexity of interdependent factors of which drug use is a symptom, our studies in fact taught us that there is no simple and easy way of doing away with the symptom.

So far, we have not committed any methodological sins. What we did, had to be done. We now had a general picture of our target area. What next?

3. *The third step: creating a framework for preventive action.* Clearly the next step was research on specific measures aimed at a reduction of drug use by forestalling the pressures that appear to lead to it.

And since so many of the pressures overlapped with those which had been discovered by experts in juvenile delinquency, we expected to profit from their experience. But in examining available research in the prevention of delinquency, we discovered—as I had mentioned—that very little had been done. There is, in fact, no conceptual framework for preventive action.

It is not difficult to understand why such a framework was slow in developing. Research in the causes of delinquency, as well as our own research in the causes of drug addiction, pointed, as we said, to a complex maze of interrelated personal and environmental pressures and deprivations. And theories based on empirical investigations stressed the fact that only a *convergence* of pressures and deprivations led to delinquency. It was difficult, in fact impossible, to derive from this complex picture, by a process of reasoning, some reasonably manageable, manipulable prescription for effective prevention. A variety of things were to be recommended for the great variety of contributing factors: more financial help to deprived families, child guidance for the emotionally disturbed, recreation for the street gangs, a substitute father figure for the fatherless, grassroot participation, and so on. The multiplicity of these services adds up to a task which it is difficult for many an individual mind to grasp. And, as preventive programs were initiated as a rule by well meaning individuals with limited funds at their disposal and acting in a framework of a single local agency, it would appear that good will and an urge to some action led them to substitute what was feasible for what reason and knowledge indicated was *necessary*. And in evaluating their one-pronged programs, it would seem that they were led by irrational hope: maybe it will make a difference.

Well, it did *not* make a difference. Profiting from their disillusion, we decided that in approaching the task of devising a preventive and rehabilitative program for youths in trouble, we will honestly consider all measures that, on the basis of our knowledge, appeared to be important, without worrying for the time being about the practicability of such a program. We consequently put down on paper all the measures that either available knowledge or, in its absence, common sense and intelligent guesswork suggested as remedies for the wide variety of personal and environmental deficiencies which appear to be at the root of the problem.

This task was not particularly difficult. Soon we had a list of preventive and rehabilitative measures, each backed by a specific rationale.

The general rationale of the project is to modify the youths' experience in their school and street environment so that it will counteract (rather than, as is now the case, reinforce) the early family experience of emotional deprivation, by giving multiple proof that the society *cares* about them and their future. More specifically, the aim is to: (a) expand their reference groups to include ever larger circles of people and, by thus giving them a more broadly based sense of *belonging,* make it more difficult for them to deny guilt for hostile acts against persons perceived as strangers; (b) provide *constructive channels* for the expression of "free-floating energy" and, in general, to satisfy the adolescent need for new experience, exploration, and learning; and (c) offer special *help and support* to individuals who need it.*

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* This summary, by necessity so very brief, does poor justice to the original argument—in fact, it reduces it to a cliche. A book containing both the findings of our studies and a proposal for preventive action is in preparation.

4. The fourth step: from social theory to social engineering. The chief difficulty in envisaging the program on a community basis was the nature and extent of coordination of all those efforts directed at youth, at their families, and at adults working with youth, such as teachers, police, recreation workers, parole officers, and the like.

We could say *what* we thought should be done, but when we started thinking about the *how,* we found that it was impossible to predict in advance what approach would be successful. It was, in fact, impossible to make safe guesses about the effectiveness of purposive social action. Why?

One way of answering this query is to say that in general purposive social action tends to lead to unanticipated consequences. In his classic analysis of this problem (7), Robert K. Merton suggests that *inability to foresee* all consequences of social action may derive—apart from the obvious reason, namely, simple ignorance—from the intrinsic inadequacy of knowledge of human behavior which is available to us. Human behavior in any situation is not a constant but, rather, is represented by a *range* of possibilities. This range increases with any variation in the *conditions* of the situation. In very complex situations, determined by many conditions, the range of behavior resulting from the interplay of all conditions is so immense that for all practical purposes the probable outcome of social action cannot be predicted.

In addition, the effort at prediction is also contaminated by errors of judgment in appraising the conditions of the situation, by bias and by neglect, by an immediacy of interest in some one aspect of the problem, and by similar impedimenta.

For example, we recommended modifications in the policy of recreation centers and settlement houses, to one in which they would attempt to draw the anti-social gangs into some of the available activities. But how should they go about it? What approach, what steps are necessary to avoid a complete wreckage of the place?

In our wish to see this part of the program put into effect, we—in thinking out the techniques of approach—overlooked, as we were later told by no less an expert than Fritz Redl, the low "deviation tolerance" of the regular members of the community house or playground. Just as the "cats" are thrown into a turmoil of emotions at the prospect of civil contact with the "squares," so the "squares" are likely to become anxious and disturbed by the prospect of admitting the wild "cats" into their regulated world. (And if the reader should think this oversight of ours was avoidable and that he would have thought of it, let me remind him that this is only one of the many factors that must be considered, each of us has some blind spots, somewhere.)

Besieged by these self-doubts concerning our ability to recommend the best course, we felt impelled to turn for help to experts in the field, people who have the actual "know-how." We felt that, even though so little of their work had been carefully evaluated, much could be learned from them. People who for many years continue in one type of work as a rule accumulate a wealth of intimate knowledge of the great variety of forces, pressures, interests, conditions that play a role in the situation in which they work. Every agency has an accumulation of past experience which could teach others if not how to do things better, or how not to approach certain problems, then at least what special conditions, usually overlooked, played a role in the failure of a given venture. A survey of such experience was, then, our next

step. Through personal interviews with workers in the field, we tried to learn what they have learned.

5. *The fifth step: learning from the experience of others.* The first difficulty in an experience survey is to dodge or get around the heads of the various agencies, who often are far removed from the work experience of field workers. The second difficulty is to get the field worker to feel free and unconstrained, to talk openly about his experience. In some cases — notably with the police, both obstacles are insurmountable in this type of a survey. In all cases, the tapping of experience is a slow and painstaking task. There are special reasons why this wisdom based on experience is not easily made explicit and available to the public or even to qualified research personnel.

One of these is the widespread reluctance to self-appraisal. This reluctance springs from a variety of sources. One is the common fear of change—a sense of security is derived from habitual routinized ways of doing things. It would take us too far afield to pinpoint all the elements in our social structure that contribute to this fear. But some of these contributors are based on misconceptions and misunderstandings of the function of research and those are of prime concern to us.

One such frequently encountered misconception is that only success is worth mention and mistakes are to be shamefully glossed over or covered up. Yet a careful analysis of how and why things have gone wrong can be extremely profitable. A good example is a survey of the accomplishments and failures of the Neighborhood Center for Block Organization, which functioned in Harlem in the mid-forties. (1) The survey spotlights the apathy of the tenants which made it so difficult to mobilize them effectively for self-help, and it provides some insight into the nature of this "apathy."

In fact, one might point out to those shy of their failures that these failures, if recorded and analyzed, are more rewarding for applied social science than successes. In terms of the logic of scientific method, interpretation of successes may easily lead to the "fallacy of affirming the consequent." If some theory of delinquency leads to some program of action, the success of the program does not confirm the theory—it merely demonstrates that it is not yet untenable.

Furthermore, an attempt to reproduce the conditions of success has at least two pitfalls: (a) it may include spurious or irrelevant factors or (b) it may easily overlook an important ingredient of it. But failures at least enable us to disprove a current hypothesis or focus the need to revise it. Specifically in the field of social action, failures point to the need for re-examining the premises of action more carefully and often pinpoint an important but overlooked condition in the situation. It is clearly our duty to explain these truths to heads of agencies and their financial backers and convince them that by keeping adequate records and periodically analyzing their mistakes and failures, they will provide a most enlightened and forward-looking attitude which will reflect most favorably on their management of their agencies.

Another reason why the learning value of failures receives so little publicity is related to our academic tradition of research. Our colleges and even graduate schools apparently fail to tell social science (and social work) students about this "royal road" to action-relevant knowledge and in general to scientific discovery. For while they carefully design laboratory experiments to disprove a hypothesis at great cost and effort, few students and few scholars are encouraged to avail themselves of the blunders, the mistakes, the failures in social action as a means for challenging and disprov-

ing commonly accepted premises on which this action was based. It may be true that such research, which evaluates retrospectively the causes of failure, can hardly be rigidly exact and lead to validated conclusions. Formal, traditional, academic research, very rigid, very exact, is oriented to neglecting the golden mine of hunches, hypotheses, insights.* But, surely, these are as valuable and as scarce as carefully validated tests of specific hypotheses.

But not only heads of social agencies and not only the academicians neglect to exploit real-life experience for the knowledge it hides—much of our non-academic research on social problems fails in this respect. And here again it is the tradition, the established, sanctified routines that are to blame—not the individual researchers. To take an example, a large youth agency in one of our cities recently designed a research project to evaluate and improve one of their casework services. The design called for an analysis of some 150 case histories by a statistician, to be followed by a more intensive study of a sample of cases. There was no mention of exploiting the years of experience of some dozen social workers and obtaining their impressions, hunches, opinions concerning their current methods of work and ideas for improvements.

Industrial sociologists and psychol-

ogists long ago pointed out that it pays to lend an ear to the worker on the lot and to his straw boss. Their recommendations apparently became generally accepted in modern, up-to-date industrial establishments. And listening to the consumer is, of course, the essence of marketing research. Yet in both academic and applied research this principle of listening to the grass roots is less explicitly stressed and seldom followed. Whence the difference?

The difference, I propose, derives from the different accounting principles of industrial research on the one hand and academic and applied social research on the other. In the former type of research *the client pays* the researcher. In the latter, the client —the person in whose interests the research is conducted—is the passive subject of research; researchers get paid by academic institutions (in degrees more often than in money), by foundations, by the local and federal government agencies. The researcher naturally has the interest of his client at heart. But he also has at heart his own interests which have to do with professional standards, with the recognition that is accorded a methodologically "clean" job, a neat conceptual framework which is safely derived from standard, prestigeful conceptual frameworks currently in fashion. There is no one, outside the researcher's own conscience, to put pressure on his work for more "action-orientation." And in a peculiarly somnambulistic way, even the enlightened public often calls for "more research" (meaning more research on the causes of troublesome phenomena) than for more action. We have apparently succeeded in terrorizing this liberal public into the belief that much research has to be done before one may act safely. Yet in the slow progress from understanding to resolving social problems, action must precede full understanding, for much of the

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* Another aspect of the tradition of academic research contributes to this under-evaluation of failures as sources of discoveries, and that is the attitude that negative findings render a doctoral dissertation worthless as a means of getting a degree. The distinction is seldom made clear between "negative findings" (i.e., findings in which the hypotheses that have been advanced are shown to be untenable) and "equivocal" findings (i.e., findings which have no real bearing on the hypotheses: they neither confirm nor deny the consequent)—with the result that through a critical period in his training, many a Ph.D. candidate lives in dread of negative findings and learns to look upon them as worthless.

understanding comes from observing first attempts at remedial action fail.

It may be cogent to quote a conclusion of a committee of distinguished professional men after a survey of close to a thousand books and articles dealing with mental health activities and their evaluation:

The frequency in which research and service agencies in the same community operate in "isolated cells" is impressive. A research center may operate in an "ivory tower" and fail to include for research validation valuable exploratory leads in an applied field because of lack of such information, and with efforts limited to the pursuit of preconceived hypotheses which preclude other experimental approaches. Conversely, in an operating agency, experimental leads are discovered and attempts made at scientific validation with faulty conclusions and interpretations, as a result of inappropriate or inadequate methodology and in the absence of technical research "know-how." (5)

What Must Be Done?

Further research into the origins of juvenile delinquency and of related symptoms of social and personal malfunctioning among our youth is not likely to produce much knowledge relevant to preventive and rehabilitative measures. What is needed now is a carefully recorded, analyzed, and evaluated trial-and-error method, using various approaches in various combinations in various conditions, learning all the while—unlearning and learning.

The need for such a "trial-and-error plus evaluation" approach is indicated not only by the uncertainty of our knowledge about prevention and by the difficulty of predicting in advance the effectiveness of any given program of action. This approach is also necessary to debunk the pessimism of those "experienced" workers who have become paralyzed by routine and have lost the daring for experimentation with new approaches.

Many types of services and methods of approach which appear to be vitally important as preventive measures for youths in deprived areas are now believed by many experts in the field to be either extremely difficult or totally impossible. Yet here and there an enterprising worker has tried and succeeded. In our own survey, we have learned that it *is* possible, though admittedly difficult, to draw anti-social gangs into a city recreation project. It *is* possible to teach many people who have work difficulties how to work in peace and productively. It *is* possible to establish good, friendly working relations with the police. Certain precautions must be taken, certain groundwork laid beforehand, certain resources made available for financial and spiritual sustenance and support. Not much cooperation should be expected initially from the largely apathetic, suspicious, frightened people in the deprived areas. Energy must be pumped into the area and this energy must be carefully sustained among the people who would become involved in preventive work, by tapping varieties of motivation, and by providing continuous rewards.

One source of motivation and of inner rewards that should be tapped and exploited to the full is the scientific interest in the principles of purposive social action. This interest should be stimulated both in our academic institutions and in operating agencies. This could be done in a variety of ways: encouraging more doctoral candidates to do their field work in social agencies; encouraging social workers to attend research seminars; publicizing among social agencies scholarly analyses of various experiences which stress the value of learning from failures; etc.

The responsibility for initiating such contact and stimulating scientific interest in social action rests with the social scientists.

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PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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"The world over, we are greatly in need of an administrative *élite* who can assess and handle the concrete difficulties of human collaboration." (13) So spoke Elton Mayo in 1933, as he reflected upon the Western Electric research program and upon his earlier work in industry. Troubled by the conflicts that seemed to be tearing society apart, Mayo hoped that research in human relations in industry would provide the knowledge needed to train industrial managers in a leadership which would resolve social conflicts.

In the 23 years that have followed, human relations research and training have enjoyed an enormous growth of popularity in the universities and in industry. Nevertheless, we seem today hardly closer to Mayo's goal than we were in 1933. To be sure, important changes in human relations have taken place in industry, but there is little reason to believe that they have come, to any considerable degree, through research and through training that has been based upon such research.

There have been hundreds of thousands of human relations training programs in industry. To my knowledge, only two of them have been subjected to the sort of solid research evaluation which would measure their effectiveness. In one case, an International Harvester program (3), worker reactions to the foremen who had been trained were slightly more negative after the program than they had been before. In the other case, Detroit Edison (12), there was a loss registered in one division which was more than counterbalanced by a gain in another. The researchers in both cases explain the results in terms of the limitations of a program that is aimed only at the foremen. They point to the behavior and attitudes of higher management as influencing the foremen. This is no doubt true, but perhaps it would be better to say that there are a number of other forces, beyond the individual supervisor, which affect his relations with workers. Let us seek to discover what these forces may be.

The Accumulation of Comparative Knowledge. The fact that we have had so little success in applying research findings to human relations in industry does not mean that there has been little progress in acquiring knowledge in this field. The problem we are exploring lies with the gap between knowledge and application.

Since Mayo's day, we have made enormous advances in building up our comparative knowledge of industrial organization. At the time that he wrote, we had only his work and that of his associates in a textile mill and in a factory manufacturing telephone equipment. Since that time, we have developed a literature of department stores (11), hotels (9), restaurants (21), railroads (7), insurance companies (10), banks (1), plus a much greater variety of factories.

This broadening of the base of our knowledge is essential in the building up of a sociology of industry. While we need to have such a variety of knowledge in order to avoid the dangers of oversimplification, such accumulation does not itself add up to a science.

The thesis of this paper is that the application of human relations knowledge has lagged because we have been unconsciously proceeding with an oversimplified view of the field. We have not systematically taken into account the findings of the variety of studies that have been made in the last 20 years. We shall first consider these advances under five main headings and then return to the general discussion of the application of human relations knowledge.

Community and the Job. Elton Mayo has often been accused of neglecting the community context of factory life. It is said that he treats relations within the factory as if they occurred in a social vacuum. It seems to me that this criticism needs to be reformulated. Mayo has a good deal to say about the society beyond the factory gates, but his comments are too broad and general to provide valuable research leads. He argues that modern urban society is afflicted with the disease of *anomie*. In an earlier day, children grew up with an understanding of their rights and obligations in relation to other people so that cooperative relations naturally developed without conscious planning. Whatever the validity of this ideal picture of the good old days, Mayo recognized that it was impossible to bring back such an established society. He saw the task of industrial leadership as being one of developing, through intelligent planning and action, the bonds of cooperation that formerly had been provided by the society itself.

However we might argue about Mayo's diagnosis, he is pointing to a disease of urban industrial society as a whole. Such a broadside approach does not give us any way to trace specific influences from society to the industrial plant or from the plant to the surrounding society. It does not tell us that, with such and such a type of social organization in the community, we can expect a specified condition of human relations in the plant.

We have made little more than a beginning in the large and complex area of industry-community relations.

Everett Hughes (5) and Orvis Collins (2) have shown how the distribution of ethnic groups in the social structure of the community affects relations within the plant.

W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low (20) have shown how changes in the social structure of a New England community (plus changes in the technology of the plant) contributed to the unionization of Yankee City's new factories. We might add the obvious point that this unionization took place at a time when industrial unions

were gaining strength throughout the country so that Yankee City workers were also responding to influences from the larger society.

More recently we have been offered a challenging analysis by two economists who—of all things—have been attacking us sociologists for neglecting the social structure outside the factory. Kerr and Siegel (8) claim that some of us have erred in trying to explain cooperation or conflict entirely in terms of what happens inside the plant. They argue that the harmony of relationships can hardly be explained simply in terms of the skill and understanding of management and union leaders for they note broad differences in "the inter-industry propensity to strike." How is it, they ask, that, for example, the garment industry has been relatively free from strikes on a national and even international basis, whereas there has been a high level of conflict in the coal industry? They go on to explain the coal situation in distinctly sociological terms. On the job, the workers tend to form a homogeneous group, since they face the same working conditions and are more similar in job functions and earnings than would be the case in most factories. In the communities, we find little employment beyond the mines, and we find the miners and their families living close together in a homogeneous working class community. Managers and owners tend to live in a quite different social area and have no contacts with the workers outside of working hours. The homogeneity of worker groups on the job and in the community and their sharp separation from managerial society are held to account for the high degree of worker and union militancy. Interestingly enough, this interpretation has been supported by Alvin Gouldner (4) on the basis of a case study.

So far only a few gross discriminations have been made regarding the influence of community on plant life, but we have already advanced far beyond Elton Mayo's simple use of the term *anomie.*

Are we likely to find that the degree of harmony prevailing inside the plant is determined by the structure of community and job? That seems hardly possible. However, we will be learning how these structures influence the ease or difficulty with which men in industry work together.

Technology and the Job. Mayo began his work at a time when industrial psychologists were concentrating upon the problems of fatigue and monotony. He showed that these phenomena could not be explained entirely by reference to the machine and the nature of the job, that human relations have an important impact upon this aspect of worker reactions. This conclusion led us, for a time, to neglect the machine and the content of the job and to swing entirely over to a consideration of the pattern of relations among men. We seemed to be assuming that technology and the job were unimportant, and that the controlling factors in worker satisfaction and in work group behavior were found in the relations among workers and management people.

Recent studies have again turned our attention to technology and the job, both for an understanding of worker satisfaction and of work group behavior.

In carrying on the study which led to the publication (with George Strauss) of *The Local Union* (17), Leonard Sayles was impressed with the observation that work groups differed widely both in their participation in the union and in the cohesiveness and militancy they showed in advancing their group interests. Following up this interest, he went out to collect data that might lead him to discover the factors on which these differences were based. He found, for

the 200 odd groups on which he had some information, that the differences in group behavior seemed to be consistently related to certain characteristics of the technology and the job content. He also found that he had to refine his conceptions of work group militancy. There seems to be not just a single scale running from apathy to extreme militancy. At the militant end of the spectrum, he identified two types of groups that seem to be quite distinct in behavior as well as in the conditions that apparently give rise to this behavior.

The *erratic* group tends to swing from apathy to sudden explosions of militancy. Furthermore, its outbreaks often catch management and union leaders alike by surprise. Not only do they come suddenly but also they seem to be triggered off by problems that seem trivial in relation to the heat of the emotions involved. Finally, the very disorganized nature of the militancy shown often prevents the group from profiting by its concerted efforts.

The *strategic* group displays its militancy in a much more sustained and organized fashion. The men stick together, but they only bring pressure to bear when it seems to them, apparently as a result of canny and calculating discussion, that the time and the situation are ripe for the kind of action that will enhance their position.

The *erratic* group members all are working at the same job and as members of a work team. They each receive approximately the same pay and are on a relatively low skill and low pay level.

Strategic group members also have the same job, but each of them is working at a separate machine. The members of the group receive the same or similar pay, but it is at a semi-skilled level, and they seem to be constantly pushing in an effort to gain recognition as skilled workers.

Non-militant groups seem to be found in departments that have a high degree of heterogeneity and pay differentials within them. There may be serious dissatisfaction within the department, but the members have less capacity for working together to relieve this dissatisfaction.

Sayles' work (18) in this area must be regarded as a preliminary study. The cases he has been using have been provided him by descriptions of behavior furnished by management and union people. It will take case studies with intensive observation and interviewing, to discover the mechanisms whereby technology and the job influence work group behavior. However, Sayles seems to have opened up a very promising area of research. The more we are able to discover objective and readily observable factors that influence work group behavior, the more rapidly will we advance in developing a science which will enable us to predict human behavior.

Work along this line also helps us to refine our ideas of the nature of work groups. It was Mayo and his associates who developed a concept of the informal work group and pointed out that the supervisor had to deal with a group and not just with isolated individuals. Since for some time the bank wiring room study was the only intensive study of work groups in existence, it was natural for us to think of work groups in line with that model of a very tightly knit and stable group. Now the work of Sayles and others is showing us the varieties of work group organization actually to be observed and also some of the factors that lead to each type of structure.

In recent years we have also turned our attention again to the relationship between technology and work process and job satisfaction. Perhaps the most significant study of this nature is the Walker and Guest book,

The Man on the Assembly Line. (19)
Here, in a systematic and quantitative
study, the researchers confirmed the
common supposition that workers do
not like working on the assembly
line. Lest we toss this finding aside
as simply proving the obvious, let
us remember that much of what ap-
pears just common sense turns out
to be not true at all when subjected
to scientific examination.

According to the researchers, the
workers' attitudes toward the job
seem to be influenced by the follow-
ing characteristics of assembly line
work: 1. mechanically controlled work
pace; 2. repetitiveness; 3. minimum
skill utilization; 4. pre-determination
of tools and techniques; 5. minute
subdivision of product; 6. surface men-
tal attention only required and 7. so-
cial isolation. (Assembly line work
severely restricts the social contacts
open to workers.)

By way of contrast, let us look at
a small plant where workers, in teams
of six to eight and using simple tools
which have changed little over the
centuries, are engaged in making fine
glassware. (15) Here we find that
the job differs from assembly line
work in every point cited by Walker
and Guest. The pace of the work is
entirely controlled by members of
the team. There is wide variety in the
products made. The gaffer, top man
on the team, is a highly skilled crafts-
men. The workers below him require
skill in varying degrees down to the
very bottom man who alone can be
looked upon as low skilled. The
workers have some choice in the tools
they use and a great deal of choice
in the techniques of work. Each
team makes a complete product, from
beginning to end. Mental attention
is required by the men as they are
working on the glass, but there are
often times in the flow of work when
individual workers will not have glass
in their charge and will be free to
relax or socialize. Finally, the men

work closely together and have a great
degree of freedom for social inter-
action.

In the assembly line case, job satis-
faction seems clearly to be related to
the mass production characteristics of
the job. The researchers found that
utility men, who fill in at various
points on the line, express markedly
greater satisfaction than workers who
are tied down to a particular work
station. Furthermore, even with the
relatively simple job operations of
the assembly line, they found that the
more satisfied workers tended to be
those who had the greater number and
variety of operations to perform.

In the glass plant, we found men
taking pride in their work and ex-
pressing satisfaction with their free-
dom from machine pacing and from
management control. They also cited
their freedom for sociability as an im-
portant positive factor in the work
situation.

What is the relationship between
technology and the job on the one
hand and relations between workers
and supervisors on the other? The
evidence seems to indicate that these
two factors can operate relatively in-
dependently of each other. In the as-
sembly plant, "A majority of the
assembly line workers who reported
unfavorably on such features (of as-
sembly line work) reported favorably
about their foremen." (19, pp. 100-
101)

The authors add:

The workers considered the matter of a
'good' or a 'bad' foreman to be impor-
tant, but as a factor in the total job situa-
tion, it was crowded out, both positively
and negatively, by more striking factors:
on the positive side by pay and steady
work; on the negative side by unfavorable
factors connected with the immediate job.

In the glass plant, we reached a
similar conclusion regarding the role
of supervision. The workers ex-
pressed strong likes and dislikes to-

ward certain supervisors, but they spoke favorably about the immediate job situation at the same time that they singled out a particular supervisor for adverse criticism.

Does this mean that technology and the immediate job are so controlling that relations between supervisors and workers become unimportant? The conclusion is not warranted. Even in the assembly line situation, the researchers point out that there are important steps the foreman can take so as to increase worker satisfaction. But it is noteworthy that the steps they cite, such as the enlargement of the immediate job and the allowance of more rotation of men on various jobs, would seem to have their effects precisely because they modify the mass production characteristics of the immediate job.

We are looking at two extreme situations: one in which the job operations seem intrinsically unsatisfying and the other in which they seem intrinsically satisfying. The world's greatest human relations expert cannot make standard assembly line work intrinsically satisfying to workers, nor can a bungler destroy the intrinsic satisfactions that go with fine glass making. Between these extremes, we can expect skill in supervision to have more effect upon job satisfaction, but even so, the supervisor acts within limits set by the technology and the job.

*Money and Behavior.** Mayo attacked the old theory of economic man. In effect, he pointed out what money could not do in industry. It remained to be shown what impact money actually does have. Furthermore, Mayo dealt with only one aspect of our problem: with *money as incentive for work effort.*

* This section is based primarily upon William F. Whyte and collaborators, *Money and Motivation,* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955).

In the succeeding years, we have recognized that there are at least two other important social aspects of money in industry. Earlier we noted the influence of money upon *relations within the work group*—the relationship between homogeneity (or heterogeneity) of community environment, job content, *and pay* on the one hand with work group cohesion on the other.

We are also exploring the role that money plays in *inter-group relations.*

For a long time we have known that men are not concerned about their pay only in an absolute sense. They are also very much concerned about pay in a relative sense, that is, where the pay they receive places them in the status system of the plant. Money is not the only factor that establishes a man's status in the plant but it is an important one.

We are now applying this knowledge to problems of incentive pay or piece rates. Since piece rates relate the amount of money earned directly to the amount produced, they seem to provide us with a test of the importance of money as an incentive for worker effort. However, we find that piece rates also tend to introduce *inter-group problems* which disturb the social system of the plant.

We can state the following hypothesis: When changes in worker earnings run counter to pre-established status relations, the workers who lose in the process will make strenuous efforts to re-establish their former relative position. Furthermore, a substantial narrowing of differentials in earnings will be met by efforts designed to re-establish the pre-existing differentials.

This means that, in assessing the impact of an incentive, we cannot afford to look only at the group to which the incentive is applied. There

are many cases where, for example, incentives are applied to work groups A and B, where A previously received higher earnings. The piece rate for group B turns out to be substantially "looser" than that for group A, so the group B workers are now earning more money than group A. While, according to the theory of industrial engineering, such a reversal should not happen, we have seen it happen many times. The fact is that the methods of time and motion study are so far from scientific as to lead to many such changes of pre-established relations. In such a case, we can expect the group A people to pressure management for a looser rate, and we can expect management to have trouble persuading group B workers to "promote" into group A.

The inter-group problem appears in a classic sense in the clash between maintenance and production department. The craftsmen in the maintenance department are generally the most skilled workers in the plant, but, since it is impossible to measure their contribution, they are usually paid on straight hourly rates. When incentive rates are applied in production departments, the pre-existing differential may be drastically reduced, eliminated, or, in extreme cases, even reversed. This tends to create severe problems for both union and management officials. To prevent the maintenance department from splitting off into a craft union, the officers of the industrial union have to bargain with management for so-called inequity adjustments. They will argue that the craftsmen in this plant are not receiving as high wages as men in the same classification in other plants in the area. Management will show figures to prove that its own craftsmen are paid at least as well as the average. But, while both sides are talking in terms of a comparison with area rates, they recognize that they are dealing with an internal inter-group problem. The parties are likely to agree on something like 12¢ an hour increase, with everyone in the plant getting 10¢ and the remaining equivalent of 2¢ an hour for everyone being concentrated in the maintenance department to build up those rates. This relieves the pressure temporarily, but, if the production incentives pay off well, the maintenance workers are likely to be back the next year for more inequity adjustments.

Let us return now to Mayo's problem of *money as incentive* for work effort. He and his associates clearly demonstrated that the worker does not respond to a money incentive as an isolated individual. He responds to the incentive and to management as a member of a work group.

In our eagerness to establish the importance of the new field of human relations, we accepted this demonstration of group influences as meaning that money does not matter very much. In recent years, we have been reformulating our ideas on this point. Money is obviously important to workers, but it operates within a social context. Our task is to explore this social context, placing the individual in his work group, to be sure, but going beyond that to place the group in the total social system of the plant.

When we note that the individual generally holds his production within norms set by the group, we have not explained why it is that such groups refuse to respond or respond only partially to the incentives set before them by management. We are now finding that a greater response to the incentive depends upon a reorganization of the relations of work groups to management. The conditions necessary for building such a cooperative social system will be examined later, in our discussion of *participation*.

Mayo told us, in effect, that money could not do everything. As we dis-

cover what money can and does do, it has become clear that, in order to develop "good human relations," the manager needs to know a good deal about the uses—as well as the limitations—of money.

Organization Structure. In reaction against formal and sterile theories of organization structure, which were based upon *a priori* reasoning, Mayo and his associates focused our attention upon informal organization—the network of relations that grow up among men in the course of their working together.

This was a useful corrective in its time, but we have tended to swing to the other extreme. For years we have tended to disregard the importance of formal organization structure. Here again we are beginning to strike a balance. We are recognizing that the formal structure itself can be an important determinant of the relations among people. Perhaps the best demonstration on this point comes to us from research carried on in Sears Roebuck and Company under the leadership of James C. Worthy. The case involves a study of how Sears' intermediate size or B stores weathered the 1949 inventory recession. In searching for factors that might account for the differential performance among the hundreds of stores in this category, the researchers hit upon the variable of organization structure. The stores fell into two types of structure, which had arisen without any top level planning. In the one we shall call type Y, there was a manager supervising five or six group managers, who each had five or six division managers reporting to them. In type X, directly supervised between thirty and thirty-five division managers. In type Y, there were three levels of authority above the sales people, while in type X there were only two.

The records showed that type X was definitely superior both in the

profit and loss column and in the development of promotable people. There were also indications of superior morale in type X, although here Sears did not have the comprehensive questionnaire data to support such a comparison conclusively.

Why should the differences run in this direction? Worthy gives this interpretation:

Close observation of a functioning of the two types of stores indicated that one of the chief disadvantages of the more complex organization was that it safeguarded people too closely against making mistakes. There were so many checks and balances —chiefly through the close supervision provided—that it was difficult for any division manager to get far off base or to stay off base very long. But precisely for this reason he was deprived of one of his most valuable means of learning. (23)

Worthy's conclusions are supported by studies carried on in Michigan's Survey Research Center (6) regarding detailed supervision. The general conclusion seems to be that workers— at least American workers—prefer to work under supervisors who provide general supervision and do not seek to control their behavior in detail. Where differences have been shown in productivity, they are in favor of the general supervisory relationship.

It is customary to think of loose or tight supervision as involving only the leadership style of the supervisor. Certainly we do see differences on this level, but this also seems to be a matter which can be affected by organization structure. The B store manager, who with only the help of an assistant, supervises thirty-five division managers simply cannot provide detailed supervision. On the other hand, the manager who has only five or six people reporting to him will find it difficult to avoid exercising detailed control. What else is he to do with the time he spends on the job?

We can make no uniform rules regarding the appropriate structure for

all industrial organizations. The structure should vary not only with the size of the organization but also with its technology, job content, and other factors that we are just beginning to explore. However, the old *a priori* approach of scientific management, based on the span of control theory, contributed toward building long narrow hierarchical organizations. The theory held that one man could supervise adequately only a small number of people. It recognized that the number should vary with the complexity of tasks assigned and with the extent of inter-dependence of tasks among those supervised. However, the emphasis was upon keeping down the number of men under a single supervisor, in order to maintain adequate control.

The span of control theory is irrefutable if you accept the assumption about behavior upon which it is based: that men perform best when they are under close supervision.

Since research has been demonstrating the falsity of this assumption, we are now thinking in terms of broader and flatter industrial hierarchies with fewer levels of authority from bottom to top.

Having neglected formal organization for years, we now attach the same importance to it as did Mayo's predecessors. However, we are beginning to build the empirical and observational base that was lacking in such early theorizing.

Participation. Mayo recognized that the administrative élite, for which he hoped, would not alone be able to handle the complex problems of industrial society. He put it this way:

. . . in a modern industrial society ultimate decisions, if they are to be reasonable and progressive, must vest in groups that possess both technical and social understanding. This requirement does not by any means exclude workers and their representatives from participation . . .

. . . . Full expression by the groups is as important as a logical and purposive scheme framed by the few who possess high technical skill. For a society must secure the effective participation and cooperation of everyone in addition to the contrivance of technical advance. (14)

Mayo has been attacked for advocating a society in which passive workers will be led by a socially skilled administrative élite. It has also been charged that Mayo completely neglects the role of the union in industrial society.

There is some truth in these criticisms, and yet it seems to me that Mayo's shortcomings at this point are of a somewhat different nature. To be sure, he did neglect the union—even though the phrase "or their representatives" might be interpreted to point to the union. Mayo's active involvement in research was at a time before the rise of industrial unions. Even in his later years and in his more philosophical writings he preferred to stay with the data he knew and did not incorporate unions into his thinking.

In emphasizing the importance of building a new administrative élite, Mayo allowed for "participation" in his scheme of things. He did not suggest that managers should become so skillful that workers would passively accept any management action. On the other hand, he never explained what sort of behavior was referred to by the word "participation." That, it seems to me, was the real weakness of Mayo's work in this area.

"Participation" has become a catch word in industry today. Everybody agrees that participation is a good thing, but, in actual practice, there are many different definitions of the term.

One common management definition is that the word simply means good communication. Management informs the workers what is going on and what is to be expected. The

workers tell management about their ideas and their problems. Management listens sympathetically. Two-way communication has then taken place, and the workers are expected to be satisfied that they have participated.

The evidence we have so far indicates that this sort of approach brings about no basic changes in the relationship of workers to management. The only sort of participation that changes the relationship is one which involves real changes in the decision making process in industry.

Where we have seen such participation, it has involved workers making their opinions felt through union channels. Management may listen to unorganized workers, but it is all too easy to disregard what they say.

Participation is not a phenomenon that can be limited to the relationship between the foremen and the workers. To be sure, we do see an improvement in the relations between them when the workers are able to initiate action for the foreman on their ideas and problems and are not confined to the position of responding to his orders. However, in large hierarchical organizations, many of the decisions affecting workers are made at organizational levels far above the foreman. If workers bring such problems to the foreman, he will be unable to respond to them unless he can initiate action up the line to his superior, and the superintendent in turn may be unable to respond unless he can initiate action to the plant manager, and so on. Thus, the foreman can hardly develop a real participating relationship with his men unless the organization above him acts that way systematically. In a hierarchical organization, where action is customarily initiated down the line, it is extraordinarily difficult to push action up the several levels that may be needed—and to do it consistently.

It is one of the chief functions of the union to provide a means for initiating action up the line to as high levels in the management structure as the problem requires. The first requirement then for building an effective system of participation is a channeling of worker complaints and suggestions up the line in the union and across from union to management at the various decision-making points. This does not mean simply the communication of ideas. If the workers or their union representatives just speak up but then find that nothing happens, after a while they get tired of communicating and look for other means of initiating action for management.

While this new channel for initiating action on management is a necessary condition for participation, by itself it is not sufficient. Wherever union contracts are found and a grievance procedure is established, the union gains the right to challenge management decisions. We have seen cases where management has tried to limit its contacts with the union to the grievance procedure. Under such a policy, management is always on the defensive since the union is always challenging a management decision. When this is the extent of the meetings of the two parties, the management people inevitably react defensively and see their problem as being one of establishing management prerogatives and drawing a line beyond which the union must not be allowed to push.

The sort of participation that leads to widespread change in attitudes involves an abandonment by management of this defensive position. Management continues to respond to union men, at various levels of the organization, but management now begins to initiate action through the union as well as down the line of management authority. In other words, management takes the initia-

tive in presenting company problems to the union and asks union help in solving those problems. When this point is reached, we have a real change in the decision making process in industry. What this means can perhaps better be explained in terms of a case than in a general discussion. Consider the following example:

The Chicago plant of Inland Steel Container Company was facing maintenance costs so high that management was forced to consider contracting out a large part of the work. General Factories Manager Robert Novy, acting through management channels, had made several vain attempts to improve the situation. At last he called in Steelworker International Representative Jake Shafer. In the month following their conversation management records show 50 hours of meetings—35 of them held jointly with a committee of the union. Many hours were also spent on discussions within the union. The discussions ranged over all the problems—from supervisory practices to job assignments—that were of significance to either group. Novy's notes show 29 items being discussed in one meeting. The discussions resulted in a number of important changes in the maintenance department—all the way from a shift in supervisory personnel to a reduction in the size of the work force. The changes—and the discussion process leading up to them—brought improved morale, improved maintenance-production relations, and sharply reduced costs.

Participation, finally, is not a phenomenon which can be started and stopped as specific problems occur. In those cases where we have seen workers, management people and union officers working together most enthusiastically, we find that a new pattern of interaction has been developed and is being consistently maintained. The people have developed a new approach to discussion and de-

cision making which they follow with some regularity and at organizational levels from the department up to the top.

Some social scientists have viewed union-management cooperation with alarm, for they see it in a system whereby management can win over the union and get it to go along passively with management's plans.

To be sure, we find some management people who dream of reaching such a goal, but they will find no comfort in the research literature. The cooperation cases we have seen are not characterized by the absence of disagreement or by the union's passive acceptance of management's leadership. There remain disagreements, and they are vigorously argued, but the parties have developed a way of solving their problems and of eventually reaching agreement on the issues that divide them. The evidence shows that this new approach to decision making involves every bit as much change in management's traditional way of leadership as it does in the union's functions. Influence is exerted in both directions. Unless such a reciprocal relationship develops between management and union, we don't see the effects in morale and productivity that are alleged to flow from participation.

A New Industrial Leadership. What now of the "administrative *élite*" that Elton Mayo urged us to develop? Some critics have viewed the injunction with alarm, seeing in it an anti-democratic philosophy which would arm the heads of industry with the tools to manipulate workers. It seems to me that this is a false alarm. The task of directing a large industrial organization is extraordinarily complex. Would anyone argue that we would be better off with mediocre, bungling men in such key positions?

Whether we continue to have such leaders selected on a private enter-

prise basis or whether we have some form of socialism with government selection of our industrial leadership, the requirements of knowledge, skill, and understanding for such industrial positions will continue to be enormous. Whether we call such people an administrative elite or use some other term, we will continue to need men of exceptional ability in these positions. Let us hope that that ability is not limited to the handling of problems of finance, sales, technology and production planning.

We can hardly argue with Mayo's statement of the need for social leadership. We can, however, show that in his time he only pointed in a very general and vague way to the nature of this leadership. In this article I have attempted to point out some of the main advances that have taken place since Mayo's day, which have reshaped our ideas of the possibilities and limitations of leadership in human relations.

When we think of human relations, we are inclined to think in terms of face-to-face relations. Some years ago we were saying that the character of these face-to-face relations determines the attitudes that workers have toward the organizations in which they work. This still seems to be true, but we must go on to ask: what determines the character of the face-to-face relations? We have been learning that these face-to-face relations do not take place in a vacuum. We have been learning that they are markedly influenced by the community structure, the technology and job content, the systems of compensation, and by the organization structure itself.

This does not mean that human beings are powerless to effect major improvements in human relations. It does mean that they generally have to look beyond the immediate face-to-face relations in order to accomplish the task. If they do that, they will find that some of these "impersonal forces" are subject to human decision. Technology is established and changed by man. (The social problems of the assembly line may yet give way with the development of automation.) Systems of compensation are man-made and can be changed by man to bring them more in line with human requirements. And, finally, organization structure is built and changed by man.

Nor are the possibilities for remaking human relations in industry limited to changes in technology and the job, systems of compensation, or organization structure. For those who are sufficiently daring and experimentally minded as to pursue the implications of "participation" to the conclusions that research has already pointed out, there is the possibility of bringing about a revolution in the process of decision making.

We have learned that a new administrative *elite* cannot build its hope for a sense of enthusiastic participation on the part of workers simply by building better "two-way communication" and by trying to "make the workers feel that they are participating." The evidence shows that people don't really feel that they are participating unless they can see that they are having a recognizable impact upon the decision making process in industry. Their contribution cannot be limited to the physical effort they put into the job. It necessarily involves putting into action the ideas workers have for improving their own lot and the performance of the organization. The industrial leader who can provide channels for this sort of contribution will find his efforts richly rewarded. But he will also find that he has left far behind him the standard conception of the boss, who, through his own ideas and that of his staff experts, furnishes the full direction of the enterprise.

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KANSAS CITY DOES ITS DUTY *

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A report on desegregation in the Kansas City, Missouri, schools is, on the whole, a story of a job well begun. Exactly two months (July 29, 1954) after the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision (May 29, 1954) stating that the maintenance of separate schools for white and Negro pupils was unconstitutional, the Kansas City School Board decided that in September, 1954, a Negro Junior College would be closed and the Kansas City Junior College desegregated and that the Vocational division of the Negro Junior High School would be transferred to the city-wide Manual High and Vocational School on a nonsegregated basis. As a matter of fact, the summer programs at the High School and Junior College were desegregated in June. Furthermore, it was decided that within one year, beginning in September of 1955, all schools in the Kansas City school system would be desegregated, and the administrative staff was set to work establishing new boundary lines for the schools. Even though the Missouri Attorney General had given an opinion that state laws supporting segregation were now no longer valid, the local action seemed precipitous to a small number of Kansas Citians; but to most, the Board of Education was only doing what it ought to do. To those some distance from Kansas City, this straightforward reaction to a new definition of the situation might have seemed out of character. Kansas City is known as a city with a considerable Southern exposure. In and about Kansas City were fought some of the ugliest battles of the War between the States. In many respects, Kansas City, Missouri, has tried to sustain a Southern tradition; but—and this is more telling—Kansas City has been successfully fighting for a place among the mercantile cities of the United States, and increasingly its head is turned from the South to the North, the West, and the East. Desegregation reveals that, although Kansas Citians have conflicting feelings, they have little doubt as to what has to be done.

Desegregation in the schools did not come about suddenly out of this Supreme Court decision. The battle of desegregation had been going on for some time. It had been fought in the courts around the swimming pool, where a suit had been brought to desegregate a large and well-appointed swimming pool run by the city parks. The city contested this lawsuit all the way to the Supreme Court and during this process the swimming pool was closed. Once the Supreme Court ended the legal battle in favor of nonsegregation, however, the city complied by opening the big swimming pool without incident and by desegregating all other swimming pools. To cite another example: Kansas City, like other cities, wants more conventions. Through the efforts of its Chamber of Commerce the large hotels are now open to all guests regardless of race—although it must be noted that it is still virtually impossible for a Negro to buy a meal in a downtown restaurant. The Com-

mission on Human Relations of the city government has been successful in clarifying issues so that movie theatres no longer discriminate and segregate.

It would seem that Kansas City, like many communities, conforms almost gratefully when the law, either economic or constitutional, has been firmly laid down. It looks as if the difficulty for Kansas Citians is in taking the responsibility for decisions of this kind; but they are content to go along with what they know to be right if a court or other authority so commands. There was no obvious reason, legal or otherwise, to take the swimming pool case to the Supreme Court other than that the city fathers might thereby avoid assuming the responsibility.

There was another incident just prior to desegregation of schools which illustrates some of the ambivalence concerning race relations in Kansas City. With a shifting of population within the city, a Negro school was overcrowded, and a white school was nearly empty. The superintendent proposed using the relatively empty white school as a Negro school, and there was much heated argument about this change. The superintendent vacillated. Instead of making a direct administrative decision, he was willing to talk things over on a "democratic basis." This led to the overt expression of bad feelings. Finally, after the change had been made, there was a mysterious fire in the school from which the whites had been removed in favor of Negroes. It might be added that, although there was much strife within the Kansas City school system at the time of the desegregation process, desegregation had nothing to do with the changes which eventually took place in the school administration.*

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* This in reference to the fact that the Superintendent of Schools was not rehired.

In any event, the Kansas City officials proceeded to desegregate the schools. They set up school boundaries so that all the schools would be used; that is, in general they did not close Negro schools; they rearranged school districts. Three exceptions were small, old, and poorly equipped schools which had been established for many years to serve Negro "island" neighborhoods. The fact is, of course, that Negroes live in more or less segregated neighborhoods, and therefore many school districts are entirely Negro and many more school districts are entirely white. There are some schools which are mixed, and nearly all high schools are mixed. A mapping of the school districts shows that there has been no obvious gerrymandering in favor of racially homogeneous school districts.

The Board of Education laid down further policies about which there can be some argument, and I quote from their own publication, *Policies for Transition from System of Separate Schools to a Desegregated School System.*

Transfers: The Kansas City Public School System has a long-standing liberal policy of granting requests for pupil transfers whenever the reasons seem to warrant. The practice of granting transfers liberally has necessarily been modified in recent years because of increasingly crowded conditions in school buildings. These restrictions will very likely be more numerous in the years just ahead because of increasing enrollments.

The Board approves the continuation of the established practice of granting transfers, provided that no transfers shall be issued to schools where, in the judgment of the Superintendent of Schools, the capacity of the building has been reached.

Those of us long experienced in race relations have some doubts about the wisdom of this transfer privilege, even if it is a practice of long standing. An examination of the statistics on enrollment and requests for transfer shows that in the 1953-1954 school year (before desegregation) there were requests for transfer for

5 per cent of the children in the elementary schools. During this 1955-1956 year there have been requests for a little less than 6 per cent—a not very significant increase and much less than was expected by the school authorities. Because of increased school crowding in the 1955-1956 school year, about three times as many requests are being denied as were denied in the 1953-54 period. Figures might be more meaningful for high school transfers, but these records are kept at the individual high school level and are not a matter of central-office bookkeeping. There is some evidence that high school requests for transfer have increased markedly more than requests at the elementary school level.

In putting these figures together other figures appeared which are perhaps more significant, or at least in need of further elaboration. Despite the steady rise of the birth rate over the past several years, the total population of Kansas City elementary schools dropped about 1.6 per cent from 1953 to 1955. At the same time, of course, the enrollment mounted rapidly in the suburban schools. Few, if any, Negroes moved to the suburbs so that there is some argument for the point that instead of asking for or getting transfers, the families moved out of the desegregated school districts. One teacher reports that her classroom was evenly divided between Negro and white in September but now the ratio is three Negroes to one white. One should comment that, although the explanation of flight seems apparent, some reservations must be made, namely, that those who move are those who are headed for the suburbs anyway. With increased prosperity, upper-lower and lower-middle class people have been moving to the suburbs as the city grows. While desegregation might set off this movement, it is not clear that it is a basic cause. It seems probable that the trend in

the next decade or two will be towards having only low-status, high-status, and childless families as residents of the central city, while middle-class families will be largely suburban.

The Board of Education at the same time also set forth its policy on teacher assignment:

Established Policy Reaffirmed. The Board reaffirms its legal right to assign teachers and other personnel to positions so as to serve the best interests of children. Since learning and educational outcomes are decidedly determined by the quality and permanence of staff, any changes in faculties will be kept at a minimum.

Where additions in staff are required by reason of increasing enrollments, each school situation will be handled separately. The present personnel practice of attempting to match the abilities and skills of employees to the particular characteristics and demands of the job will remain unchanged.

Although this means, in effect, that teachers can ask for transfers from one school to another, it also means that the administration states the right to assign teachers on an integrative basis. We have been told that there have been requests for transfer out of Negro or mixed schools to the all-white schools, but no record of these requests or their disposition is kept and hence no accurate assessment can be made. However, there has been some assignment of teachers to mixed faculties, using the same regulation. In general, the Board has operated on a policy which implies that Negro teachers should teach in all-Negro schools, there may be mixed faculty in mixed schools, and white teachers should teach in white schools. The policy seems to be even more specific, namely, that so far as possible, teachers should be of the same race as their pupils.

It is at this point that one can be most critical of the desegregation process in Kansas City. Although none of the permanent teaching staff was fired, other problems arose. During the academic year 1954-1955, in preparation for total desegregation, no Negro

teachers were added to the permanent staff. Instead the new Negro teachers were employed as reserve teachers although they may have been teaching full time. This meant that a full permanent staff of Negro teachers was not maintained. Furthermore now, after desegregation, there are available some 30 to 40 qualified, but Negro, teachers who are not being employed. At the same time, relatively untrained or minimally trained white teachers are being taken on. It appears that the policy concerning the homogeneity of pupil and teacher is more important than the continuing employment of its teacher staff or the preferred use of qualified teachers over less qualified teachers. There are of course many groups, the Urban League and the N.A.A.C.P. among them, who have protested this action and there can be some certainty that this policy will be modified. Many of us find it difficult to take school administrators seriously when they talk of a teacher shortage in view of the fact that there are many unemployed, well-trained teachers available.

Consideration might also be given to the possibility that parents in Kansas City, given the opportunity, would prefer to have less crowded classrooms with better teachers rather than maintain obsolete notions of racial segregation. To take the position of maintaining and raising educational standards rather than bowing to the loudest expression of traditional prejudices is difficult for the Board of Education and the administrators. Therefore, after the major decision to desegregate, there has been a tendency to move steadily but cautiously. The impulse to move slowly in such an enterprising city as Kansas City derives more from vague fears than from knowledge and experience. To my knowledge, in no comparable community where teachers have been hired and assigned on merit alone

has there been any difficulty. Yet, in Kansas City there is still much avoidance of this crucial issue. In one of the high schools where 25 per cent of the students are Negroes, there are no full-time Negro teachers, although Negro substitutes have been assigned there. In this high school there have been some interracial altercations. I submit that it is difficult for students to act in an egalitarian fashion if the authorities themselves do not appear to. In addition there is no Negro on the central administrative staff.

One must add, however, that while the city school system has some difficulty in recruiting teachers, the suburban schools, which are for the most part new, administratively progressive, and with student bodies relatively homogeneous for race and social class, are as yet having no trouble staffing their schools even at lower salary scales.

The American social system is fundamentally a social class system in which there is an inherent opportunity for social mobility up and down within it. Superimposed on this class system is a color caste system which involves barriers to full participation in the class system. Such barriers we see in terms of discrimination and segregation. In an analysis of our social system one can state the direction in which progress in race relations is taking place and isolate the influences which further or hinder the effectiveness of the caste line. With Abolition, Negroes entered into the social class system basic to American life—always, however, held back by caste restrictions. As further social changes have come about, this caste line has been turned from its position of a thick horizontal barrier to an increasingly permeable and more vertical barrier. In other words, there has been an increasing amount of participation in the social class system and an increasing amount of participation across the caste line.

We may make three propositions about social development in this area:

(a) As the caste line moves toward a vertical position, it moves with greater speed.

(b) As the caste line moves toward the vertical position, it decreases in strength as a barrier to social participation.

(c) As the caste line moves toward the vertical position, the social class composition of the lower caste more nearly simulates the upper-caste class system.

However, whenever a new push on the caste line comes about, such as desegregation in the schools, it produces stress and disorganization which may have no long-term effects but which certainly involve short-term problems. Some of this disorganization can be described by the term "push-pull effect." There are some people in both castes working toward achieving a vertical and nearly disappearing caste line. Proportionally, there will be more lower-caste people working to this end than upper-caste people. On the other hand there are those in the upper caste trying to push the caste line back down towards the horizontal position, and there are those in the lower caste who feel that the costs and dangers of rapid shifting should be minimized by going slowly. There are many Negroes in positions of leadership who are not convinced that desegregation of schools should proceed as rapidly as it has—mostly because in so doing it deprives some Negroes of achieving higher class status by depriving them of their teaching jobs. Many Negro teachers in the State of Missouri lost their jobs because of desegregation, and, as pointed out earlier, in Kansas-City, although no one lost a job, certainly people who would have had a job if segregation had been maintained now do not. Negro spokesmen

for the "go-slow" positions have not been ineffective as they team up with the "feet-draggers" among whites. I think it would be a mistake for any of us to condemn such positions. Rather, I think we need more clearly to understand the social dynamics so that we may concentrate our efforts at the appropriate time on the immediate necessary objectives.

There are other problems which have arisen in the desegregation of schools, and these concern the relations of students to each other and teachers to the students, especially at the high school level. Inevitably, interpersonal frictions involving whites and Negroes become race problems in the eyes of all people concerned and so the tensions mount. The school system administrators are aware of these problems and have mildly supported courses, workshops, and research concerning them. However, the general policy has been to let things settle themselves so far as possible for the first few months, and then to carry on some in-service training about these interpersonal problems. Recently there has been some demand on the part of principals and teachers for a permanent in-service program on human relations.

Another problem which must be faced concerns the simple fact that a very large proportion of Negroes are lower class within the American social structure. Lower class people, as it has been frequently shown, are not motivated to do well within the educational system. This high correlation, then, of Negro with poor students provides reinforcement for the prejudices of teachers, and although they can often accept intellectually the spuriousness of this correlation, the reality of their everyday experience overrides scientific truth. The answer to this problem, of course, lies in the improvement of our school system in general and not in the simple process of desegregation.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN DELAWARE*

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The effectiveness of any one procedure or technique in the attempt to desegregate the schools depends to a large extent on the simultaneous and integrated application of other procedures and techniques as well as an understanding of the conditions under which these techniques are applied. Segregation, and its counterpart discrimination, are multi-determined and their elimination requires a multi-dimensional program based on an understanding of the dynamics of social change and social control.

A recent issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* (1) analyzes several interrelated techniques which have been successfully used in effecting desegregation. While the empirical data reported in this issue are first presented in an eclectic manner, presumably to demonstrate a range of techniques, they are then developed in the form of higher level generalizations with reference to more complex conditions under which desegregation was accomplished. It is significant that the journal concludes with an analysis of findings as related to theories of social change and their application to the specific problem of desegregation.

This paper describes the general procedures and techniques for implementing desegregation which have been used in the State of Delaware

and evaluates these with reference to two dimensions: first, the direct effect of procedures or techniques on the population, or on a sub-population within the State, and second, the relative effect of procedures and techniques in the light of social and cultural variables. Some of the significant variables which modify or place limits on procedures and techniques are the antipathies of local citizens in the power structure of the community or state, institutionalized behavioral systems which pattern resistance to social change, and to some extent the broad social and cultural context in which the development of education has taken place in Delaware.

Delaware's public school system is not typical of that in other states. Although Delaware has within it a number of local school districts with a Board of Education derived from the local community, in many ways the schools are essentially state schools. For example, over ninety percent of a local school district's operating budget is provided by state appropriations which are controlled by the legislature. Such control must be considered in plans for desegregation as well as matters of the budget.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT IN WHICH EDUCATION AND SEGREGATION DEVELOPED IN DELAWARE

It is difficult to be brief in describing the pattern for education which developed in Delaware. Limiting the description to a few short sentences, however, this can be said: 17th cen-

tury Delaware had no public school systems; 18th century Delaware discussed this as a social problem; 19th century Delaware with much debate made a feeble beginning toward formulation of a "solution" to its problem. Not until after the Civil War, through the School Act of 1875, was comprehensive legislation enacted to make a public school system possible. This legislation called for a segregated public school system, and unique to the State of Delaware was a provision whereby colored schools were to be supported by a tax on the person and property of the colored citizen; and white schools to be supported by similar taxes on the socially, politically, and economically dominant white majority. (3, p. 693) Delaware's population then, as now, was about five-sixths white and one-sixth Negro, although there has been a slight decline in the proportion of Negroes in recent years. (4, p. 8-11)

Given legislation for a segregated public school system, tradition-oriented citizens were still *not* prone to develop such a system. Indeed, one might have characterized these tradition-oriented persons at the turn of the century as engulfed in a tradition of apathy and neglect in so far as public education was concerned. These Delawareans were more concerned with the labor children might perform on the farm or in the factory than they were with the educational, social, and intellectual development of children.

A Changing Orientation in the 20th Century Advances the White Schools

In general this tradition of apathy and neglect carried through the 20th century until 1919-1921 when a citizen's committee successfully challenged public opinion. Legislation was then passed enabling the organization of a modern, though segregated, public school system. The schools of Delaware today, while still having many unmet needs, are primarily a product of a changing orientation toward education manifest in the last 35 years. During this period, through a reorganization of the state school system, more appropriate financing, growing public interest in school development, and recognition of the role of professional educators as well as specialists in related fields, Delaware has achieved in part a modern and progressive educational system *for its white population.*

Development of the educational system for the Negro population did not keep pace with developments in the white school system. (3, pp. 714-722) The effect of the earlier tradition of apathy and neglect reinforced by the ideas and practices of segregation had the effect as late as 1950 of showing, according to census data, that there was a greater difference between educational levels of Negro and white in Delaware than in any other state in the nation. (4, pp. 8-19)

Closely related to this are patterns of discrimination and segregation in employment, housing, and related areas. Similarly, while a change in the law by itself would have little effect on actual patterns of marriage, Delaware remains one of the states which violates in principle the concept of democratic opportunity by barring inter-racial marriage. The caste-like features of Delaware's institutions are understandable in the light of present day ideologies in the population.

Present Day Ideologies in Delaware: Reactionary, Conservative-Liberal, and Apathetic

For analytical purposes it is useful and meaningful to divide the population into three categories. First, one grouping, mostly residing in the southern part of the State, and in the

rural areas and small towns, consists of the tradition-oriented who anchor their self-conceptions to the way of life of their local community. With reference to Negro-white relationships the beliefs of the past are here operating in the present. One doesn't doubt the sincerity of these people but one can with good reason question their ability to understand and to accept revisions in knowledge and the social order. Some historians classify these persons as conservatives and individualists. For example, Powell in his history of Delaware calls the people conservative in that they uphold values of the past. (2) However, the individualism they seek for themselves they would deny to others. With reference to such issues as desegregation they are more appropriately referred to as reactionaries in that they seek to counteract or undo the progressive forces and trends of a period, thus favoring the return to a bygone order. The term conservative might be more appropriate for persons trying to conserve present day values rather than values of the past. The attitudes of the reactionaries are negative. They seek to deny minorities equality of opportunity through use of their political and economic power in both formal and informal channels of social interaction. In the words of Reed, a Delaware historian, "While Delaware is often classed with the Northern States, in its thinking about the Negro, it is essentially Southern." (3, p. 571)

A second sizeable grouping, and one which grows larger with industrialization and urbanization in Delaware, is oriented to the growth and development of American society, not only in technical ways, but in the development of human rights and freedom as well. One will find both conservatives and liberals within this grouping, gradualists and the more militant. The two terms, conservative and liberal, are not necessarily antithetic. Both conservatives and liberals

attempt to conserve liberties which already exist. Liberals are more militant in expansion of these human rights. Not limited in perspective to local or regional folkways and mores, the liberals respect broad concepts of democracy and humanism. They realize that the rights of the Negro are an inseparable part of the fabric of the rights of all citizens. Desegregation, as many of them see it, cannot be considered a local community problem, or just a problem of the schools. It is, for these people, the problem of all thoughtful citizens concerned with development of a democratic society. Specific organizations in Delaware which are from one time to another involved in the conservation as well as further development of human rights include the League of Women Voters, business and professional women's clubs, ministerial groups and other church organizations, N.A.A.C.P., organized labor, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., P.T.A., N.C.C.J., and many others.

An even larger grouping in Delaware consists of persons who anchor their self conceptions to specific tangible items such as weekly income, occupational status, and in the extreme, opportunity to buy for themselves a new car or the latest style in television receivers. This grouping also increases in size with industrialization and urbanization. These persons are concerned with family status and economic security, and tend to be afraid of or indifferent to outside forces—economic, social, or political. These persons are concerned with what their neighbors or fellow workers think of them, that is, their status in more immediate social groupings in which they participate. They have attitudes toward desegregation but these attitudes are not salient. In general they are *apathetic* toward broad social and cultural issues, including desegregation. What they do *not* do speaks louder than what they say. Apathy is more appropriate than

conformity in describing this grouping. They are conformists in the sense of compliance with social norms, but this does not indicate agreement with these norms. Apathy refers more appropriately to indifference and lack of interest.

There are substantial numbers in the ranks of the reactionary and apathetic as compared with the conservatives and liberals in Delaware today. The extent and number varies by community as well as by rural or urban setting. Procedures and techniques used in working out school desegregation thus gain support, are attacked, or ignored, according to the ideologies of persons in these categories.

Current experiences in desegregation in Delaware can be considered from two points of view. First, one must consider the State as a whole due to the fact that local school boards come under the general policy of the State Board of Education, and are also dependent on state appropriations for ninety per cent or more of their local operating budget. Therefore, what happens in the state legislature or in some state agencies has a direct relationship to the school system and to school desegregation.

Secondly, one may refer to desegregation experiences as more or less unique to given communities. Within these communities there is variability in the use of community resources and in the implementation of a desegregation program.

<center>TECHNIQUES FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN DELAWARE</center>

Is a court decision or a change in the law or state constitution an effective means of modifying the social order in Delaware? Some people would say it is not, and argue that you can't bring about a change in social behavior by legal action. The

error in such a conclusion is demonstrated by the fact that social change *has* taken place in Delaware as a result of court decisions and other forms of legal and administrative action. A change in the legal norms or in their interpretation is a procedure which has both direct and relative value for the problem of school desegregation. The direct effect can be traced through to the stated policy of the State Board of Education in Delaware and the subsequent plans put through by some local school boards whereby partial desegregation is an accomplished fact in Delaware today. On the other hand, the effect of changing legal norms has been only minor in some school districts where local school boards have either failed in the duties of their office, have perhaps resorted to subterfuge, or have lacked the leadership and public support necessary for concerted action. Local school boards in Delaware were directed as follows: work out a plan for desegregation in their school district, submit the plan to the State Board of Education for approval, and, with approval of the State Board initiate desegregation according to plan. The technique gave local boards an opportunity to consider what in their opinion would be the desirability of gradualism as compared with more immediate implementation of a desegregated school system. The technique made local school boards responsible for effective leadership and local policy formation within the framework of court decisions.

<center>THE TECHNIQUE IN ACTION ON A STATE-WIDE BASIS</center>

It should be noted that some schools in northern Delaware started desegregation even before the United States Supreme Court decision. These schools, including the University of Delaware, were involved in Delaware court cases based on the issue of equality

of facilities in the then Negro and white institutions. Looking at the State as a whole today one finds that the three largest communities in Delaware began partial desegregation in September, 1954, following Federal Court decisions. Several small schools in the northern part of the State have likewise started desegregation and in some instances full desegregation was achieved. This is the direct result of court decisions and administrative policy passing down to local school boards which in turn fulfilled their responsibility as they thought best. Included was Dover, the State capital, whose population has a larger proportion of Negro citizens than any other city in the state. However, schools in southern Deleware remain segregated today. Several school districts did not even reply to the directive from the State Board of Education that plans for desegregation be submitted to it by August 15, 1955.

Neither a moralistic approach to desegregation nor an educational approach will be sufficient to alter the situation in southern Delaware unless these appeals are supported by legal pressures such as further test cases and legal aid to those deprived of equality. Also, when local law enforcement agencies are either unwilling or unable to cope with a situation in which the law is evaded, responsible state officials must use their offices to see that law and order are maintained. The technique of local community and school board action which has been effective in northern Delaware will be effective in southern Delaware to the extent that moral, rational, and educational appeals are supported by legal sanctions and state-wide administrative power.

THE TECHNIQUE IN ACTION AT
THE LOCAL COMMUNITY LEVEL

In Newark, a community in north-

ern Delaware, the high school and junior high school admitted Negro students in September, following the U. S. Supreme Court decision. Until this time Negro High School students traveled by bus to and from Wilmington's Negro High School, a two hour ride each day. Even if the U. S. Supreme Court decision had not been made in the preceding spring, the Newark School Board might have been faced with orders for desegregation in the light of unequal facilities provided. Desegregation of the junior and senior high schools proceeded without a major incident or sign of community disturbance. There was no participation by P.T.A. or other community organizations. On the other hand, the primary and elementary schools in Newark remain segregated and no further plans for desegregation have been announced. Newark is a rapidly growing city, is the home of the University of Delaware, and is a community with several active civic groups and community organizations. Newark may be referred to as a community which began desegregation by direct action of the local school board. Newark may also be referred to as a community in which the local school board took only that action demanded by obviously unequal facilities and sidestepped in principle the issue of desegregation. In the meantime several other organizations within the community have a desegregated program, including the Girl Scouts and teams in Little League Baseball. The local theatre now admits Negroes, and the University admits some Negro applicants, although it still refuses admission to out of state Negroes because of their race.

In mid-state Delaware one community stands out from all others. This community is Dover with a population about equal to that of Newark. Dover has a larger proportion of Negroes than any other city in Delaware,

is below the Mason and Dixon line, and is in the middle of a rural-farm area. Dover began partial desegregation by admitting Negro students to its previously all-white high school if they desired to take the academic course. In the meantime Dover has organized a Citizens Advisory Committee to study plans for extending desegregation. The Federal Air Base which adjoins Dover has influenced human relations in the community. For example, an early issue, preceding school desegregation, was whether to have a segregated or integrated U.S.O. facility. Dover has also had an active Human Relations Council composed of representatives from several segments of the community. Dover may be referred to as a community which has instituted partial desegregation even though the general conditions were not as favorable as in most northern communities.

As indicated previously, southern Delaware schools remain segregated. In Milford, a community which received national attention when a parent's strike was supported by threats of violence and economic boycotts, the local school board felt impelled to resign because of lack of support from the State Department of Education. The "new" school board carries out a policy of strict segregation and has severed athletic relationships with Dover High School because Dover now permits Negro students to participate in interscholastic competition.

Probably the majority of citizens in southern Delaware consider human rights a local problem, or as one segregation leader states, "an internal affair." Some local school boards have taken public opinion polls which, although not valid, are reported as indicating ninety per cent or more of the population in favor of segregation. A movement is now underway to put through the State Legislature a bill to make the State Board of Education

elective instead of appointive, the intent being to block desegregation. Persons in many parts of southern Delaware who favor desegregation, or even those persons who prefer segregation but place respect for law and order above their personal preferences, are quite apt to remain silent if they are vulnerable to economic boycotts or to loss of their job through unwarranted community pressures. These are a few of the "peaceful" means by which some citizens in Delaware seek to stop school desegregation.

ANTIPATHIES AROUSED IN SOME SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION

The term antipathy refers to a settled aversion or dislike, to feeling rather than rational thought. In their extreme form, antipathies of reactionary and authoritarian groups in Delaware are expressed by symptoms such as burning of a cross, hanging a live but mutilated frog on a school principal's door with a note stating "you're next," and similar signs of insecurity and lack of social maturity. The examples cited are from what is locally referred to as "The Milford Incident" which took place in September, 1954, when a local school board initiated a desegregation plan. The Milford schools returned to a segregated system shortly thereafter.

Groups such as these examples refer to are in need of their prejudices which, however irrational, give support to their desire for dominance and authority to compensate for their feelings of inadequacy. Many of these persons are frustrated by their comparatively low socio-economic status in Delaware. The growth and development of urban Delaware also impinges on their way of life. They are concerned lest they lose what is often the controlling interest in the state political scene. Unable to fully comprehend or to accept the changes go-

ing on around them, they seek what are for them "understandable explanations"—the voice of a Bryant Bowles or a Rev. Warrington—and they displace their fears on the Negro to satisfy their own egos as they have done so often in the past. Bowles and Warrington were two of the leaders of the National Association for the Advance of White People (N.A.A.W.P.) which became active in Delaware at the time of the "Milford Incident." Neither man would be an effective leader except under conditions similar to those which prevailed at the time of the above event.

In the light of these conditions one cannot depend on local community forces to implement desegregation. Nor can one accept the proposition of a well meaning state representative that a guarantee of local authority be offered to communities working on a plan for desegregation, for such a guarantee, under these conditions, is probably a guarantee of continued discrimination against Negroes and perhaps evasion of the law. Such a guarantee would satisfy the egos of a segment of the white population while ignoring the needs and status of the Negro citizen as well as the principles of human rights and legal equality. A series of court orders compelling schools to admit children from the surrounding geographical areas regardless of race, and enforcement of the school attendance laws with a guarantee that by forthright police action the law will be upheld both in principle and in fact, is essential to desegregation.

Is there apt to be violence if the law is enforced? Certainly there is a potential for violence in some of the conditions to which this paper has referred. Returning to the first propo-

sition presented in this paper, it was stated that segregation, and its counterpart, discrimination, are multi-determined, and their elimination requires a multi-dimensional program. One such dimension would be swift and immediate control of violence or other law violations by responsible legal authorities. If conditions should develop so that violence does take place, not only local law enforcement authorities, but state officials as well must take an immediate hand in the situation. If violence does occur, this may be part of the price to pay in achieving a more democratic society.

Most persons agree that one function of the public schools in present day society is the teaching of good citizenship. Prolonged continuation of segregation means that some schools can only talk about good citizenship while by their example they teach the opposite. On the other hand, several schools in Delaware today, as a result of court action at both the local and national levels, are in the process of desegregation, and therefore, are building a more democratic society.

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INTERGROUP RELATIONS VS. PREJUDICE: PERTINENT THEORY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE*

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The usual difference between sociologists and social psychologists in the study of race relations has been that the sociologist studies typical behavior patterns—often those of "discrimination" or "accommodation"—whereas the social psychologist studies attitudes and opinions called "prejudice" and "stereotyping," although, of course, there has never been a sharp division of labor. In recent years, there has been a tendency for these two interests to come together; both groups have come to assume that prejudice underlies discriminations, in the sense of the former being a cause of the latter. On the other hand certain authors—Merton (5) and Simpson and Yinger (8), for example—have pointed out that under certain conditions prejudice and discrimination can vary independently. We shall go further and state that it may be desirable to assume that patterns of intergroup relations (including mainly discrimination and segregation) are quite distinct from attitudes of prejudice in that each has a separate and distinct history, cause, and process of change. In other words, from a heuristic standpoint it may be desirable to assume that patterns of intergroup relations, on the one hand, and attitudes of prejudice and stereotyping, on the other hand, are fairly unrelated phenomena although they have reciprocal influences on each other,

as they also have in relation to seemingly extraneous phenomena, such as anxiety levels or class. Perhaps we should have been aware all along that attitudes and behaviors have an independent existence in the same individuals: there is the challenging study by La Piere in 1934 (3), confirmed more rigorously by Saenger and Gilbert in 1950. (7) Now there are several public opinion polls showing overwhelming proportions of various local populations against desegregation, and yet in many of the communities sampled, desegregation has proceeded apace without incident.

Let us first define terms. Race relations have to do with behavior patterns that occur in social systems—such as the caste system—which have their own historical development in the culture of a given society. Stereotyping is a universal mental tendency to subsume a large and complex category of phenomena in terms of a relatively few observations generalized to the whole category. Prejudice is a negative or positive attitude, often irrational and emotional in character, toward the stereotyped perception of a category of phenomena. Prejudice seems to take an especially virulent form when its object is an ethnic category of people, but it has a more general frame of reference in that anything may become an object of prejudice.

Like all social systems, those affecting race relations are traditional culture patterns which are learned and adopted by new members of the society while they are becoming socialized in it. They define behavior and

give it direction. They seem very stable and entirely "natural," but of course they have an origin, are subject to continual change as a result of deliberate or impersonal social forces, and are capable of disappearing entirely. Prejudice can be a mere rationalization of these social systems, but in a more significant psychological sense—the sense in which psychologists have studied the phenomenon—it is a product of individual experience and development. A whole gamut of studies have established that prejudice is an individual reaction to certain childhood and adult experiences, especially frustrations and restrictions, that are usually unrelated to people of other races. (2) These unpleasant experiences produce a certain kind of personality, which tends to react toward its environment in a certain way, usually a combination of outward conformity and inward hostility. The outward conformity may tend to support with special vigor the established system of race relations, and the inward hostility may provide a special sharpness to a system that requires harsh interpersonal relations between members of two different ethnic groups. But this personality type—the "authoritarian personality," as the California group of psychologists calls it—has to manifest itself in this way whether there is another ethnic group around or not. Hence, it can be especially conformist toward traditional styles of housing and especially antagonistic toward modern styles of housing just as well as it can be "race prejudiced." Adelson and Sullivan (1) have shown that persons scoring highest on the California prejudice scale were also found to score the highest on a misanthropy scale. It seems that the "authoritarian personality" hates not only Negroes, Jews, Orientals, and so on, but tends to hate everyone. This suggests that the California researchers have not been primarily concerned with the question that concerns sociologists working in the area of race relations: how does it come about that certain categories of people in a society—in American society these are particularly racial and cultural groups—are singled out as objects of significant discrimination?

There are, of course, alternative theories of prejudice (6), but they all have reference to individual psychological mechanisms. Because of this feature, I have come gradually to the opinion that race prejudice, as it has been conceptualized and studied by contemporary social psychologists, has little to do with patterns of intergroup relations in our society. The typical Southern system of intergroup relations—although it has some regional variations—is that which sociologists call "caste," or "no social equality." The typical Northern system—again with variations—is that of avoiding and ignoring the existence of Negroes. There is no evidence that the "authoritarian personality" or frustration-aggression or scapegoating, or any known source of "prejudice" in the psychological sense, is any more prevalent in the South than in the North. Yet there is a world of difference in intergroup relations as far as Negroes and whites are concerned.

Since 1940 intergroup relations in the United States have drastically changed. The key values of the systems underlying them have greatly weakened. Many white Southerners are willing to treat Negroes as equals under certain circumstances and many white Northerners have become aware of Negroes in their midst (and find it neither possible nor desirable to exclude them from their group activities). If present trends continue, the two typical systems of Negro-white relationships will disappear within a generation or two (although some of the slower moving effects will remain for centuries, such as tending to

marry within the groups, weak traditions of Negroes in business, etc.). But there is little in the American way of life to diminish, at a corresponding rate, frustration and the "authoritarian personality." Prejudice will remain at approximately its present level of virulence, although it seems likely to have to find other objects.

Certain attitudes accompany a given system of intergroup relations, of course, but they are not central in the psychological study of prejudice. Among the typical white person's attitudes associated with the caste system of the South have been: (a) a belief that the Negro is biologically inferior to the white man and therefore incapable of having the white man's culture and emotional refinement; (b) a belief that the Negro is "all right in his place"—that is, Negroes are socially moral and decent if they are willing to accept a socially inferior position; (c) a belief that Negroes have special capacities for humor, fun, and sex; (d) a belief that Negroes are unreliable, shiftless, and untrustworthy; and so on. It is to be noted that not all of these attitudes or beliefs are negative; some of them are as positive as corresponding attitudes are toward dogs or children. They of course include stereotypes, but—as we have already noted—all human beliefs and attitudes are stereotyped except those based on intimate knowledge (such as a scientist has for his science or as family members have for each other). These attitudes seem to have developed in the United States around the beginning of the 19th century to justify and rationalize a revitalized economy based on slavery; while slavery had long been in existence at this time, these particular attitudes did not develop until slavery became very important for the economy and politics of the South and until there was a strong world-wide movement to abolish slavery. The use of these at-

titudes accompanied a change in the social structure and a change in ideology; they did not accompany a change in white children's experience with their family members or with other frustrations.

The conditions which led to the development of the caste system in the 19th century are no longer with us. The prosperity and political power of the South are no longer based on a large mass of cheap, unskilled labor engaged in the extremely unpleasant task of cotton growing. New forces have arisen which make the caste system increasingly less desirable and useful to the dominant white group in the South or any other section of the country: these include industrialization and automation, the leadership of the United States in the affairs of the free Western world, rising educational levels among both whites and Negroes, changed patterns of roles between the sexes among whites, and so on. These changes—both negative and positive—have made a mere hollow shell of tradition. The leaders of our nation—in the judicial, the executive, and even the legislative branches of the government, as well as in big business, big labor, and big publicity—have become at least vaguely aware of these changes, and have contributed to the dismantling of the elaborate caste system. Prejudice, stereotyping, and other attitudes arising from an authoritarian upbringing, frustration, free-floating anxiety, and so on, are undoubtedly tending to buttress the shell of caste that remains. But the latter attitudes are seemingly not declining as the walls come tumbling down; rather, they are being transferred to new objects and they have new manifestations. Some people, especially in the Deep South, are keeping their authoritarian attitudes and fears focused on changes in race relations, but these seem to be a minority even within the South. In a border city like Kansas City, Martin

Loeb tells us, "when the law, either economic or constitutional, is firmly laid down they go along with it almost gratefully." (4) It is important to know what changes of attitudes and other psychological adjustments are accompanying desegregration. This is useful so that anxieties can be reduced, and satisfaction increased. But it does not seem to be important for understanding the broad process of social change, or for engaging in social action to effect change. No study of prejudice, using any definition or any theory, helps us much in understanding or predicting what is going on in the desegregation process today. The explanation is apparently to be looked for in terms of legal, economic, political, and social structural forces.

Thus, prejudice has little to do with intergroup relations. They have to fit into each other at a given period of history, because some of the same people carry them both. But the laws of change—of origin, development and decay—which govern one are independent of those governing the other. One is sociogenic and the other psychogenic, and while they may both inhabit the same individual at a given time, they also may not. The study of their interrelationships is interesting, but the study of each one separately is much more important for the understanding and prediction of human behavior. Both are worthy of study in their own right.

It is frequently valuable for individuals from two or more disciplines to work together on common problems; this is true in the area of race relations. But theories and lines of research should not be determined by the fact that the investigators are being interdisciplinary. The development of theory should be guided by the nature of the research problem. If it happens that one given research problem calls for theory associated with one discipline, this should not be a cause for alarm to another discipline, for the latter will be in a better position to develop theories for other research problems of common interest. There are undoubted advantages to interdisciplinary, cooperative research, but there are sometimes also advantages to division of labor, to the cultivation of one's own specialized garden. For the scientist, the problem must remain paramount, and any aspect of method or the social relations of the scientists must be subordinated to the problem.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Automobile Workers and the American Dream. By Eli Chinoy. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955. xx, 139 pp. $3.00.

This is a study of the career aspirations of workers in an organized automobile plant employing ten thousand people and located in an unidentified city. The conclusions are based on intensive qualitative interviews by the author with sixty-two of the workers—a small sample which, while not drawn on a strictly random basis, turned out to be fairly representative.

Contrary to the views expressed in managerial circles and the mass media, Chinoy finds that workers have very little opportunity for upward occupational movement. Only a very few ever get the chance of stepping into a foreman's job because of the stringent requirements set up by management in terms of skill, education, age, etc.; and yet a foreman's experience is a *sine qua non* for movement into the higher supervisory levels. The various clerical, administrative, and technical positions are closed off to the worker because of lack of education and experience. And the non-skilled employee cannot move even into the skilled ranks because of the training and experience specifications spelled out by management. Thus isolated from the rewarding rungs of the success ladder, the workers have adjusted to reality by lowering their sights and dampening their aspirations. Instead of thinking about becoming a supervisor, a plant manager, a company executive, etc., the manual hand builds his hopes for the future on much more modest dreams: moving into a job that does not pay much more but is less demanding physically and less oppressive psychologically, leaving the factory for the farm; starting up a small independent business, becoming a union official and so on.

Chinoy's findings will come as no surprise to any serious student of American socio-economic mobility. The study is useful, nonetheless, because it adds to our empirical storehouse. But the author's contribution would have been more helpful, if he had included (say in an appendix) the specific questions he used in his interviews and a more detailed description of the interviewing technique. Such methodological information is indispensable for a proper assessment of the findings, for comparison (if possible) with similar past studies, and for permitting comparison with future studies. Chinoy's investiga-

tion also suggests a host of questions that he could perhaps have explored (but did not) and that should certainly be studied in future research. To mention only a few: (1) It is very doubtful whether the lack of movement from nonskilled to skilled jobs in the plant studied by Chinoy is at all typical of American industry. For one of the very crucial determinants of the incidence of such mobility in unionized plants is the nature of the promotional provisions contained in the collective bargaining agreement. And many of the agreements specify promotion by seniority from semi-skilled to skilled occupations. Future studies might, therefore, explore worker aspirations and attitudes in those plants where there is considerable vertical movement within the manual ranks.

(2) According to Chinoy, the workers have made an emotional adjustment to reality by lowering their aspirational levels. Does this imply that the workers are not frustrated and feel no bitterness despite the fact that they have not risen very far on the traditional American ladder of success? If so, then the scientific observer must rule: Not proven. And if, in fact, these workers are frustrated even though they are resigned to a place this side of the sun, the obvious—but very important—question is posed: What is it that keeps this frustration from exploding into organized social aggression?

(3) Chinoy has not studied the impact of seniority provisions in labor agreements on the able younger workers. Granted that seniority provides the organized work force *as a whole* with a greater sense of security and therefore reduces the "average level" of anxiety and frustration, the fact remains that there are able young workers who must certainly feel frustrated by not being able to move to the "better" jobs in the plant because they lack enough seniority. And that proposition leads to these questions: What proportion of the unionized labor force feels that way? And how powerful is the frustration?

(4) Assuming that the concepts of "American working class" and "American working class consciousness" are anchored in reality and are not just fanciful speculation or wishful thinking, there is a crying need to discover the role played by the relative lack of vertical mobility in generating class structure and class identification.

(5) To what extent does ethnic and religious background bear on the American workman's aspirations, and on his satis-

faction or dissatisfaction with his "degree of attainment" of these goals? Chinoy's study offers no clues to this question because his sample is ethnically homogeneous and he has made no attempt to gauge the impact of different religious backgrounds.

(6) The author has not explored the link —if any—between the institutional and cultural setting of the community in which the plant is located and the aspirational behavior of the workers interviewed. And yet it is not at all unreasonable to hypothesize that there is a meaningful relationship between the two variables.

University of Buffalo

JOSEPH SHISTER

Immigrants and Their Children 1850-1950. By E. P. Hutchinson. New York and London: Social Science Research Council in Cooperation with the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1956. xiii, 391 pp. $6.50.

This book, part of the Census Monograph Series, shares the characteristics of reliability of data and clarity of style with its companion volumes on Income of the American People and American Agriculture. At the same time, it is a sequence to Niles Carpenter's Immigrants and their Children (1920) and provides, together with this earlier evaluation, all the significant data that can be culled from the U.S. Census concerning the U. S. populations of foreign birth and foreign stock for the last century. Since much of the material up to and including that for 1920 is summarized in Carpenter's monograph, the present volume gives particular attention to changes since 1920 in the composition and geographical distribution of the first and second generations of immigrants, and then surveys the occupational data from the census of 1870 and later censuses that were not used by Carpenter. Current occupational data for immigrants and their children are derived from a special tabulation of the sample of the v.hite civilian labor force in 1950. The opening and concluding chapters, which are very informat 've, review the general trend, especially the geographicai and occupational distribution of the foreign stock in the entire period of 1850-1950 The appendices contain instructions to enumerators, notes on the reporting of nativity and parentage, computations on the relative concentration by state and occupation, grouping of occupations, and sample design and variability.

Special attention is given to information for separate countries of origin and to brief summaries of characteristics for each of these separate countries. However, if anyone wanted to quote or otherwise use these data, appendices A and B, containing instructions to enumerators and notes on the reporting of nativity, parentage, color or race, country of origin and enumeration area, should be read rather carefully. Especially the data concerning immigrants from central and eastern Europe are hardly comparable from one census to another and intelligible only to those with an intimate knowledge both of the nature of these changes and of the composition of the population in the countries of origin. For instance, immigrants from Hungary could have been of Magyar, Slovak, Croat, Serbian, Rumanian, German or Jewish stock, while only an insignificant minority of those designated as coming from Russia were actually of Russian ethnicity. In 1905, to refer to a year of particularly heavy immigration, Magyars comprised only a little over a quarter of the immigrants from Hungary and Russians only two per cent of the immigrants from Russia. Polish immigrants, at one time or another, could have been entered as Poles, Russians, Germans or Austrians. The Jews are a particularly complicating factor and remain indistinguishable, so far as the census data go, from other persons born in the same country. The boundary changes following World Wars I and II add another highly complicating element and changes from census to census in the occupational classification create problems of comparability, once the immigrant has arrived in this country.

The author tells us in the Preface that the choice of material for inclusion in the volume was directed toward two major questions on immigration and immigration policy, namely, first, the effects of the reduction of immigration on the foreign-origin population of the United States and, second, the contributions made to the economic growth of the United States by the infusion of immigrant peoples into the American population and labor force. Of course, for the economic historian and the sociologist, the statistical record merely opens the question, but does not provide the answer. Consequently, further research on the role of immigration in the development of the United States is called for. Only the combination of statistical data and other source materials, for instance newspaper files and personal documents, will help us in drawing a full picture in this field. The reviewer should like to add that the present volume, excellent as it is, points to still another field of inquiry, for which census materials cannot provide any data at all, but which ought to become in-

creasingly important to the student of social problems. Since the relative importance of the first- and second-generation immigrants is steadily decreasing, the question arises as to what is happening to the third generation of immigrant stock in the United States. This is one of our crucial present-day social problems, and one that is social-psychological, rather than statistical, in nature. In this regard, the census monograph under review is of importance primarily as a historical introduction.

Hunter College   WERNER J. CAHNMAN

A Dutch Community. By I. Gadourek. Leiden: H. E. Stenfert Kroese N.V., 1956. xvi, 555 pp. No price indicated. *The Positive Contribution by Immigrants.* UNESCO. A Symposium prepared for Unesco by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. 202 pp. $2.25. *Flight and Resettlement.* By H. B. M. Murphy *et al.* Paris: UNESCO, 1955. 231 pp. $3.50.

The author of this remarkable study is a Czechoslovak refugee who, immediately after his resettlement in the Netherlands, was assigned by the Head of the Department of Mental Health of the Netherlands' Institute of Preventive Medicine, to study the local social structure and culture. The appointment was obviously made in order to have this research-worker of foreign origin give attention even to those aspects of society that are considered commonplace by the native in habitans. The study was sponsored by the Institute because of the realization that, due to the highly developed state of medical science, hygiene, and public health in the Netherlands, only through a study of even the less significant causes of good health, could the mortality rates further be cut down. The growing awareness of the social roots of illness and of inadequate social and cultural environments as causative factors of lower life potentials was another stimulus. Still another objective was to learn about the emerging industrial man in his adjustment to his new environment in Holland. Finally, the work was to become a testing case for the kind of data and conclusions a sociologist can offer. Thus the author has tried to develop a more controlled analysis and utilize methods that have been developed elsewhere (especially in America) for this kind of study.

Gadourek devotes Part I to the history of Sassenheim, its physical environment,

its population, and its political, religious, economic, educational, and recreational institutions. Part II deals with the research objectives, defines some concepts and places them in a general frame of reference, describes the sampling procedure and the techniques that were used in the field work as well as those applied to the method of evaluation of data. Part III describes the community in terms of the sociological concepts used; the causal connections of the main cultural and structural variables are analyzed, the ongoing recent changes evaluated, and some socio-pathological aspects stressed, while a more subjective and philosophical evaluation is given in the Conclusion.

If it is fair to compare Gadourek's work to Lynd's *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, it is also fair to point out that Gadourek has produced a more outstanding study, if for no other reason than that he has utilized the refinement of the techniques for the studying social processes and changes in a selected community, developed since the appearance of the Lynds' studies. Furthermore, Gadourek has utilized his knowledge of sociological studies in several languages (including Dutch), and his erudition is most impressive. Finally, Gadourek stresses the comparative aspects of his study, so that his conclusions will be of interest to all American sociologists as well as those in other countries.

That Gadourek has been able to produce such a strikingly good work is due to the fact he has been helped in all respects by the administration and the staff of a modern, scientific institute. It is, indeed, a book based on wide research; it is also quite abundantly clear that in all parts of the book evidence has been selected with care and evaluated with precision. In short, it would be difficult to overpraise this book, for it represents not alone tireless research in the field of community relations, but intelligent, objective and careful reporting.

The Positive Contribution by Immigrants is the result of studies of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, the United Kingdom and the United States. The investigation centers primarily upon the sociological and cultural aspects, but includes also a number of economic topics. The examination of the contributions of the immigrants included those to community and family life, the governmental and administrative aspects, and the country's "way of life" in general, as well as their contribution to the learned professions, their effect on the level of education and technical knowledge and upon the development of the arts. On the economic side the scope of the symposium is limited to such ques-

tions as the economic effect of migrants as individuals, their personal contributions to invention, science, industry, and other determinants of economic progress.

The reviewer feels that the weakest chapter is the introductory one, devoted to the United States. Here, in 31 pages, Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, have tried to squeeze in the whole history of immigration from 1815 to about 1952. Unfortunately, they have told us nothing new whatever; even the attempt at synthesizing gives the impression of superficiality and staleness. This is rather surprising, considering the high level of several of Handlin's books in this field. He redeems himself somewhat in the Conclusion, which aims to tie together the findings of the preceding six chapters, yet it is still not Handlin at his best. Of the other chapters, the best is that on the Argentine Republic by Jorge Hechen. On the whole, the contribution of the work can be found in the attempt to promote the field of comparative aspects of world-wide immigration, an area which has been largely limited to the United States.

A great deal has been written about refugee problems in different countries but, up to date, very little has been done to pull together the specific knowledge of the mental health problems, whose seriousness equals only the economic difficulties. The study by Murphy and Associates deals almost exclusively with the D.P. type of refugee who has lost his homeland and who must seek resettlement among people of a different culture. It analyzes the individual in flight, the children, the camps, and the psychological reactions of the displaced persons, the conditions of resettlement under "normal conditions" (in New York City, Great Britain, Australia, and Norway), and the psychopathological aspects of refugees (in Switzerland, Great Britain, and Canada).

The conclusions reached here are definite and appear to be applicable to the great majority of the D.P.'s and pre-war refugees now scattered throughout the world and to a majority of the countries sheltering them. Similarly, they can be expected to apply, but to a lesser extent probably, to resettled anti-communist refugees. In this respect, the 13 co-authors have produced a book of real distinction. While the first volume suffers from trying to rehash the widely available facts and generalizations, the second study contains conclusions derived from systematic case studies under more or less controlled conditions. While the first volume is episodic, inconclusive, often lacking in thoroughness and a judicious quality so essential to a correct presentation of the issues involved,

the second can be highly recommended for its analyses which are methodologically important as well as substantively significant for the much-needed generalizations in this field.

University of Bridgeport

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

After Divorce. By William J. Goode. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. xv, 381 pp. $6.00.

In the past two or three decades, there have been many discrete studies of some of the psychological and sociological aspects of divorce, but many of these have been content to view divorce almost exclusively as a crisis situation indicative of social pathology or disorganization. In addition, writers have tended to concentrate on the "causes" of divorce, rather than the post-divorce situation.

The virtue of this book by Professor Goode of Columbia University is that divorce is regarded as functionally interrelated with the kinship institutions of our society. In that sense, divorce need not be viewed as unpredictable pathology, but as "an institutionalized element of certain kinship systems," and therefore susceptible to systematic analysis, just as are other aspects of marriage and family attitudes and behavior.

In an effort to test certain prevalent beliefs and hypotheses about the subsequent "adjustment" of the divorced, a random sample of 425 divorced urban mothers between the ages of 20 and 38 at the time of divorce, and residing in Metropolitan Detroit, was interviewed. The records of Wayne County, Michigan, were utilized. The schedule used in the interviews was sufficiently detailed and comprehensive to make comparison possible between post-divorce adjustment and social characteristics and inter-personal conflicts of the couples involved in divorce.

Some of the conclusions which emerged from the study are sufficiently provocative to merit further attempts at corroboration by other researchers. These conclusions are: the fact that so many of the sample are either remarried, or planning to remarry; that the children are rated by their mothers as better off than if they had continued to be exposed to marital conflict; that there is often a long history of economic problems prior to the divorce as well as after the divorce; that the lower classes may well have a higher divorce rate than the middle classes; and that Ne-

groes may have a higher divorce rate than Whites.

While this volume is properly to be regarded as a definitive and methodologically sophisticated study, certain questions arise which do not detract substantively from its general excellence, but which should be noted. Goode concentrates on the responses of the ex-wives, but cites reasons why he does *not* regard the absence of ex-husbands' testimony as a "serious gap." (pp. 26-28) And yet in commenting on the relationship between the divorcee and her ex-husband, he writes, ". . . the ex-husband himself also appears in many cases to be at least involved enough to wish to make her believe that he still cares." (p. 306) One can't help feeling that interviews with ex-husbands as well as ex-wives would have added a vital dimension to his book.

In any event, it is anticipated that *After Divorce* will rapidly take its place as a basic monograph in the bibliographies of all courses dealing with marriage and the family.

Hofstra College

MEYER BARASH

Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values; The Methods and Values of a Social Psychiatry. By Marvin K. Opler. Springfield. Charles C. Thomas, 1956. xii, 243 pp. $6.00.

This book, dealing with an emerging field, social psychiatry, consists of two main areas of emphasis presented as two parts: social and cultural backgrounds of mental illness, and the psychology of cultures and peoples. In the first there is a discussion of methodology with stress on the relationship of epidemiology to etiology, and on the problems of incidence and prevalence studies. This is followed by a discussion of the dimensions of culture and human values in which culture and personality are examined as related systems and as to their bearing on psychopathology. A point is made of the importance of "the biosocial position," in which the effort is "to view total personality in its total context, the latter connoting psychiatrically relevant aspects of sociocultural background." In the second part there is a chapter on the psychology of culture and a final, integrative chapter, on culture and psychiatry.

The book is written in a style that is urbane and pleasing. To this reviewer, however, it is, at times, difficult of comprehension. References tend to be oblique and elliptical; propositions and points of view are stated and re-stated in various forms, often with effective and pithy phrasing, but without logical development. A number of sentences and paragraphs had to be read several times, and still it remained impossible to decide which of the several alternative meanings was the one intended.

The book's value, however, stands above the rubble of these, and other, objections. Within a relatively few pages, it offers a magnificent, sweeping, and much needed view of human behavior with reference to mental health. In particular, psychiatric theory is seen in terms of a broad range of possibilities, holding frontiers for conceptual integration with the work of other fields, rather than in terms of the narrower, self-contained psychodynamic models.

The author's basic point is, of course, the importance of the cultural dimension. Two contributions he makes are particularly noteworthy: an exceedingly sound evaluative discussion of the ecological approach to human behavior (he is for it, with modifications), and a presentation of the psychobiological orientation. The latter, although generally implicit in much of behavioral science, has, in recent years, been largely lost sight of so far as explicit discussion is concerned. Finally, there is an excellent bibliography which, together with the author's comments in the text, furnishes a starting point for a broad view of concepts and methods in the field of social psychiatry.

Cornell University

ALEXANDER H. LEIGHTON

The Sane Society. By Erich Fromm. New York: Rinehart and Co., 1955. xiii, 370 pp. $3.75.

In this volume, Fromm takes up again some of the themes he had presented in *Escape from Freedom* and *Man for Himself.* Indeed, the volume harks back to some of Fromm's earliest and best work in the *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialforschung* and in Horkheimer's compilation on authority and the family. The basic categories of the author's thought have not changed, but he shows sensitivity to recent social and psychological trends, especially in the emphasis in the present work on conformity and on what is called a receptive and marketing orientation. The analysis of the significant concept of "social character" is not appreciably advanced, and, while sociologists will be interested in Fromm's reflections on the changing *content* of that character, they will be disappointed in his

failure to grapple further with the relationship of "social character" and social structure.

Fromm does not find much difficulty in casting doubt on naive "adjustment" views of mental health. If the society in which we live is so eminently criticizable, he argues, "adjustment" to this society becomes both morally dubious and a poor criterion of sanity. Hence he focuses on the society itself and raises questions about its "sanity." In his endeavor on these lines, he looks for universal needs and other elements in human nature which shall give him firm ground on which to stand in the assessment of mental health. In view of the present state of knowledge of these matters, it is not surprising that Fromm's results should be more eloquent than convincing. They seem to this reviewer to be at points even rather muddled, but one can, nevertheless, sympathize both with Fromm's critical attitude toward narrowly relativistic conceptions of mental health and with his attempt to go beyond them. The relationship of the individual to the group in this effort of Fromm's is a crucial matter, and here we discern marked ambiguity in his thought. There is a lingering anarchism, familiar from his previous writings, which comes through in such assertions as the one that appears on page 69, to the effect that "all forms of identity experience based on the group leave man dependent, hence weak." On the other hand, Fromm comes out strongly for primary groups, both in his advocacy of what he terms "humanistic communitarian socialism" and in his approving quotations from such writers as Durkheim and Mayo. If Fromm believes that this ambiguity in his thought can be resolved, he has not provided any resolution in the present volume.

The limitations of the book are considerable. In a longer review, one could quarrel with scores of statements. Fromm is keenly aware of paradoxes in our current social system, yet virtually asks us not to probe for them in critical reflection on the kind of socialist system he would like to see. In the discussion of socialism itself, solid analysis of pertinent economic issues is absent. But, despite all the limitations, only an unjust or gratuitously hostile critic would deny that long stretches of argument in this volume are genuinely powerful and searching. Would that more sociologists had Fromm's great courage in risking a picture of "the whole thing."

Purdue University

LOUIS SCHNEIDER

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Listing of a publication below does not preclude its being reviewed in a subsequent issue of SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Beardsley, Seymour W., and Alfin G. Edgell. *Human Relations in International Affairs.* Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956. vi. 40 pp. $1.00.

Berkman, Herman G. *The Delineation and Structure of Rental Housing Areas.* A Milwaukee Case Study. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1956. 144 pp. $1.15.

Bruner, Jerome S., Jacqueline J. Goodnow, and George A. Auston. *A Study of Thinking.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. xi, 330 pp. $5.50.

Burnham, John C. *Lester Frank Ward in American Thought,* Washington, D. C.: Annals of American Sociology, Public Affairs Press, 1956. 31 pp. $1.00.

Cauley, Troy J. *Agriculture in an Industrial Economy; The Agrarian Crisis Today.* New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1956. 191 pp. $4.00.

Cleland, Courtney B. *Sutland and Yonland in North Dakota.* Fargo: North Dakota Agricultural College, 1955. 16 pp.

Davis, Jerome. *Religion in Action.* New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. xii, 319 pp. $4.75.

Flumiani, C. M., *An Introduction to the Theory of the Social Insanities.* Albuquerque: Institute for Political and Economic Studies. 1955. 40 pp. $2.00.

Harris, Marvin. *Town and Country in Brazil.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. x, 302 pp. $4.50.

Hession, Charles H., S. M. Miller, and Curwen Stoddart. *The Dynamics of the American Economy.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. xvii, 504 pp. $5.75.

Huebener, Theodore and Carl Herman Voss. *This Is Israel*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. x, 166 pp. $3.75.

Hutchinson, E. P. *Immigrants and their Children*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. xiv, 391 pp. $6.50.

Kaplan, Bert and Thomas F. A. Plant. *Personality in a Communal Society; An Analysis of the Mental Health of the Hutterites*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1956. xi, 116 pp. $3.25 (cloth), $2.50 (paper).

Kornhauser, Arthur, Albert J. Mayer, and Harold L. Sheppard. *When Labor Votes*. New York: University Books, Inc., 1956. 352 pp. $5.00.

Lehrman, Hal. *Portrait of Israel—Myth and Reality*. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 240. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1956. 28 pp. $0.25.

McCord, William and Joan McCord. *Psychopathy and Delinquency*. New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1956. x, 230 pp. $6.50.

Meerloo, Joost. *The Rape of the Mind*. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1956. 320 pp. $5.00.

Natanson, Maurice. *The Social Dynamics of George H. Mead*. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956. xii, 102 pp. $2.50.

Nordskog, John Eric, Edward C. McDonagh, Melvin J. Vincent. *Analyzing Social Problems (Revised Edition)*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956. x, 580 pp. $5.50.

Nyswander, Marie, M.D. *The Drug Addict As A Patient*. New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1956. xi, 179 pp. $4.50.

Roe, Anne. *The Psychology of Occupations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. xii, 340 pp. $6.75.

Rosenberg, Bernard. *The Values of Veblen*. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956. vii, 127 pp. $2.50.

Senior, Clarence and Douglas Manley. *A Report on Jamaican Migration to Great Britain*. Kingston: The Government Printer, 1955. 67 pp. 2/6.

Slotkin, J. S. *The Peyote Religion*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956. vii, 195 pp. $4.00.

Taylor, F. Jay. *The United States and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1956. 288 pp. $5.00.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. *Language, Thought and Reality*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. xi, 278 pp. $6.00.

Youtsler, James S. *Labor's Wage Policies in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1955. 344 pp., $5.00.

REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

GUIDE FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS AUTHORS

1. *Subject matter.* The function of SOCIAL PROBLEMS, the official journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, is to promote the objectives of the Society. These objectives, as stated in the Constitution, are to "stimulate the application of scientific method and theory to the study of vital social problems, encourage problem-centered social research, and foster cooperative relations among persons and organizations engaged in the application of scientific sociological findings to the formulation of social policies."

In accordance with these objectives, we seek papers falling in the following categories: (1) Consideration of particular social problems and of relevant theories and research methods; (2) analysis of organizations, institutions, and movements which deal with social problems; (3) application of social science theory and research to the solution of social problems; and (4) discussion of the field of social pathology, of its relationship to broader disciplines, and of the professional problems of social pathologists and of applied social scientists.

In determining whether or not a submitted paper is "problem-oriented," we have found it useful to define a social problem as a social condition which (a) involves a conflict of values, persons, groups, or societies, or which (b) deprives persons, groups, or societies of the likelihood of realizing their values. Examples of social problems are ethnic prejudice and discrimination, family disorganization, war and international tensions, curtailment of civil liberties and academic freedom, crime and delinquency, problems incident to the impact of mass communications on society, industrial and class conflict, the role of power elites in democratic societies, poverty, and physical and mental disease. We are interested in the application of social theory and research to the solution of social problems by such disciplines as medical sociology and social psychiatry; housing; penal administration; social work; and industrial sociology.

2. *Approach.* We seek articles which relate data to significant hypotheses having a social problem focus. As a general rule, we reject purely descriptive accounts, papers dealing with general theory or with research methodology unrelated to problem areas, research prospectuses, and manuscripts the major content of which is devoted to exhortation, praise, or blame.

3. *Style and format.* Manuscripts should be between 3,000 and 7,000 words in length, written in clear and forceful English, with technical terms used only when necessary for precise communication. Whenever possible, titles should be provocative, precise, and short. Research methods should be fully described. If a new instrument of observation (e.g., schedule, questionnaire, scale) is used, a copy should be sent with the manuscript. Footnotes, references, and tables should conform to the rules given below. The typescript copy should be in final form rather than a rough draft or a copy prepared for oral delivery. This provision should make it unnecessary for the author to make changes in galley proofs other than correction of typographical errors. We reserve the right to charge the author for non-typographical changes in galley proofs.

4. *Miscellaneous specifications.* The author should submit *three* legible double-spaced typed (an original and two carbons), dittoed, or mimeographed copies, with ample margins on both sides of the page. For his own protection, he should also retain a copy for himself. The manuscript should include a cover page specifying title, author and occupational affiliation, including both department and university or organization. The author should indicate on the face sheet the number of words in his manuscript. Since the face sheet will be removed before the manuscript is sent to our editorial readers, the title (but no other identifying information) should also appear at the top of the first page of text. The three copies should be mailed to Jerome Himelhoch, Editor, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. Manuscripts will be acknowledged upon receipt and, except in unusual circumstances, the author may expect a decision within a period of six to ten weeks. Rejected manuscripts will be returned.

If the author wishes to enter his paper in the competition for the Helen L. DeRoy Award of $500, he should so inform the editor. For details concerning the contest, he should consult the announcement in the most recent issue of SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

In asking to inspect an article, we do commit ourselves to publish it. It is contrary to the policy of SOCIAL PROBLEMS to agree to publish any article until it has been received at our Editorial Office and accepted for publication by our Editorial Staff.

5. *Duplication of material published elsewhere.* A manuscript will not be published if any portion of its content has already been published in a book or journal. When an author has published other papers based upon the same study, he is obligated to so inform the editor and, whenever possible, to send reprints of other such articles with his manuscript. Papers published in SOCIAL PROBLEMS may not be reprinted without the permission of the editor.

6. *Footnotes and references.* Comments, qualifications, etc., other than references to published sources, should ordinarily be worked into the text rather than added as footnotes. When such footnotes are necessary, they should be indicated in the text by one asterisk for the first footnote on a page, two for the second, etc., and the corresponding footnotes should appear at the bottom of the page.

All references to published sources should be listed in *alphabetical* order by author at the end of the article and numbered consecutively there. Following the material for which a source is cited, the appropriate number (based on the terminal list of references) should be placed in parentheses. These citations should come *after* the period at the end of a sentence, but *before* all other punctuation.

If there are several citations to the same work but to different pages in it, the page numbers should be given in the parentheses immediately following the number of the reference in the text; in such cases, page numbers should be omitted from the citation in the list of references (except for journal articles, which should always have page numbers listed). If there is only one citation of a given source in the article, or several citations all to the same page or pages, the page number or numbers should be given in the list of references. Citations of published works in a *footnote* should follow the same rules as citations in the text.

Seriation should be done with (a) small letters in parentheses or (b) large Roman numerals followed by periods. Do *not* use Arabic numbers in parentheses, except for bibliographic references.

The author should cite references only when necessary to identify his sources or

to support his argument; he should not employ them to dazzle the reader with the magnitude of his erudition.

Following is a sample excerpt of text and a sample listing of references:

... Previous studies of crime (2, 4) have demonstrated the importance of childhood health, although later work (1; 3, pp. 191-193) has qualified these earlier conclusions. As Jeremiah has pointed out, however, "Not all healthy children escape adult criminal careers." (2, p. 303)

* * *

1. Articulate, John J., "Tuberculosis in the Childhood of Recidivists," *American Journal of Meta-Sociology,* 59 (February, 1984), 16-25.
2. Beowulf, Elvis, *The Medical Histories of 100 Criminals* (New York: Brooks, 1753).
3. Charisma, Dennis, and Peter J. Dysfunction, "Illness and Migration as Factors in the Criminal Career," *Social Problems,* 24 (July, 1976), 188-199.
4. Dement, Joan, and Robert P. Satyr, *Studies in the Etiology of Sexual Deviance* (Menosha, Wis.: Liberty Press, 1803), pp. 160-182.

7. *Tables.* The number of tables should be held to a minimum; they should be used only to give results not easily summarized in the text. We reserve the right to charge authors for more than four tables per manuscript. Tables should be numbered successively with arabic numerals. Titles should be short and substantive; categories and methodology should be clear from the row and column headings and from the text, rather than being spelled out in detail in the titles. Units of measurement and the number(s) of cases should always be shown. Irrelevant information, and information easily deduced by the reader, should be eliminated. The following is a sample table:

TABLE 1.
SOCIAL SETTING ON ADMISSION
AND RELEASE*

	Release		
Admission	With Kin	Not with Kin or with Different Kin	N
Living with Kin	53	11	64
Not Living with Kin	2	12	14
	55	23	78

*For 7 cases there was insufficient information. For the statistical test for significant shift in the marginals, $.02 > p > .01$.

Each table should be typed on a separate sheet of paper. The author should indicate where each table should appear in the text.

8. *Numbers.* Spell out numbers from zero to nine in ordinary text, all numbers which begin a sentence, and round numbers indicating approximations (e.g., "in a population of 165 million." "Some five thousand replies were received . . . "). Do not spell out numbers 10 and over in ordinary text, numbers used with terms of measurement, page numbers, and numbers in a series where the largest number would not be spelled out ("Among the respondents were 6 Jews, 9 Catholics, and 53 Protestants."). Numbers used with terms of measurement should appear as numbers; the terms themselves, however, should be spelled out: "5 per cent," "critical ratio of 3.6," "significant at the 1 per cent level."

9. *Headings.* Primary headings are usually sufficient to indicate divisions of an article. They should be centered, with all letters capitalized. Secondary headings should be side headings (such as those used in this memorandum) with only the first word capitalized, starting with the usual paragraph indentation, and followed on the same line with the beginning of a new paragraph. Secondary headings should be underlined for italics.

REPORT OF THE HELEN L. DeROY AWARD COMMITTEE

(Presented to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems at the joint general [Presidential Addresses] session, September 8, 1956.)

Members of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the American Sociological Society:

I am not really chairman of the Helen L. DeRoy Award Committee. I am merely stepping in as a stopgap for Howard Becker, who has a research grant in Germany, and who left to me the net results of the labors of the Committee's four members. After consultation among the Committee members a verdict was reached, despite the very considerable number of competent and relevant papers eligible. This handsome prize of $500 is given each year by the Helen L. DeRoy Foundation of Detroit, for the best research paper in the field of social probelms. The Committee agrees that this year it should go to Reuben Hill, Kurt W. Back, and J. Mayone Stycos for their report, published in SOCIAL PROBLEMS for last October, entitled "Family Structure and Fertility in Puerto Rico." The Committee also agreed

that the following authors submitted papers which were rated highly enough to deserve "Honorable Mention":

John W. Bennet and Robert K. McKnight, "Misunderstandings in Communication between Japanese Students and Americans" (SOCIAL PROBLEMS, 3 [April, 1956)], 243-256).

Jerome D. Folkman, "Parent-Child Relations and Sensitivity to Stress."

Alvin W. Gouldner, "Explorations in Applied Social Science" (SOCIAL PROBLEMS, 3 [January, 1956], 169-181).

The foregoing have been listed alphabetically, not in rank order.

The Committee wishes to express its appreciation both to Mrs. Helen L. DeRoy for the stimulation of the Society's objectives and to the competitors for the forty-odd valuable contributions which they have provided.

Respectfully submitted for
HOWARD BECKER
WARREN G. BENNIS
JOHN MCKINNEY
by THOMAS D. ELIOT

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE HELEN L. DeROY AWARD FOR 1957

The Helen L. DeRoy Foundation of Detroit has renewed the Award of $500 for research and writing in the field of social problems. For details, see outside back cover of this journal.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Emil Kraepelin Centennial Commemorative Joint Session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Psychiatric Association, and the American Public Health Association on "The Epidemiology of Mental Disorder," will be held at the Hotel Statler, New York City, December 27 and 28, 1956.

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues announces a program of grants-in-aid for research on desegregation. A total of $1,000.00 has been made available for such awards, but no single grant will be made in excess of $500.00. Applications specifying budgetary needs and giving sufficient detail to make possible an evaluation of the feasibility and desirability of the proposed project must be submitted to the committee chairman, Dr. M. Brewster Smith (Graduate Department of Psychology, New York University, New York 3, N. Y.)

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